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World Leaders Send GOSR Anniversary Greetings

PM0711150990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Congratulations telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the USSR President, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet are receiving telegrams conveying sincere congratulations and best wishes to the Soviet people. Congratulations have been sent by:

Carlos Saul Menem, president of the Republic of Argentina;

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, Fazl Haq Khaliqyar, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan;

Doctor Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, chairman of the Wolasi Jirgah (the lower chamber of the Afghan National Council);

Hussain Mohammad Ershad, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh;

Queen Elizabeth of England;

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee; Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State; Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly;

Air Force Captain Jerry John Rawlings, head of state and chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council of the Republic of Ghana;

Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Republic of Iraq;

Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran;

Irish President Patrick J. Hillery;

Italian President Francesco Cossiga;

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the State of Cambodia, Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia;

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK;

Yon Hyong-muk, premier of the DPRK Administrative Council;

Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR [Lao People's Democratic Republic] Council of Ministers; Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the LPDR; Nouhak Phoumsavan, chairman of the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly;

Senior General Saw Maung, chairman of the Union of Myanmar State Council for the Restoration of Law and Order;

Miraim Arguello Morales, chairman of the National Congress of the Republic of Nicaragua;

Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee;

Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic;

U.S. President George Bush;

General Chatchai Chunhawan, prime minister of Thailand;

R. Premadasa, president of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka;

Mengistu Haile-Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces;

South Korean President No Tae-u;

Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Norman Manley.

Telegrams are continuing to come in.

Moiseyev Views European Security Future

PM0811101590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister: "Dialogues at NATO Headquarters"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **At the end of October, Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, paid an official visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels. He had conversations with NATO Secretary General Woerner, General Eide, chairman of the military committee, General Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, and the leadership of the alliance's international secretariat and took part in a conference of the chiefs of general staffs of the NATO countries' armed forces. During the visit M.A. Moiseyev also met with General Charlier, chief of the Belgian Armed Forces General Staff.**

If you had told me 2-3 years ago that the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff would pay an official visit to NATO headquarters and to the headquarters of the supreme allied commander of NATO's forces in Europe, it would obviously have seemed pure fantasy. How is it that something which until quite recently seemed unlikely, to say the least, should now become possible?

The main factor here is the major changes in the European political climate. The cold war has ended. The military political alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO—are opening up to each other increasingly. Relations between them are beginning to be built not on a basis of confrontation but cooperation. As a result, alienation is being replaced by trust, confrontation by dialogue.

The expansion of contacts in the military sphere is demonstrated by the many meetings and conversations I had during those days with NATO's top leadership as well as with the chief of the General Staff and other military representatives of Belgium's Armed Forces.

What specifically was discussed? First and foremost, how the sides' military representatives see the key aspects of security.

When setting out our model of security for the present and the future, we stressed that as it is based on the new political thinking it is qualitatively different from everything that went before. The main points here are the integrity, interconnectedness, and indivisibility of the national and international components of safeguarding security. The paramount factor is that security and national interests in the new conditions must be ensured not by force of arms or the arms race but primarily by political means with a general lowering of the level of military confrontation and on the basis of trust, accords, and cooperation. Overcoming the unnatural division of our continent is the most important, predominant feature here, in my view. We see a Europe without military blocs or confrontation, and such a development of events is not only a long-term prospect. It is becoming irreversible right now.

Perhaps not everyone will agree with me but I am deeply convinced that the unification of Germany is of crucial significance. It objectively entails the unification of Europe. They are two sides of the same coin. The "front" of military contact which existed for over 40 years no longer runs along the border between the Germanies. The single sovereign Germany can no longer be a bridgehead for large numbers of foreign troops.

In the near future we shall be witnessing an historic event—the signing of a treaty on conventional arms reduction in Europe. This will mean the removal of the material basis of armed conflict and will expand and strengthen trust.

It is reasonable to ask: What need will there be for the North Atlantic bloc then? Against whom are its participants preparing to fight in Europe? The GDR, which no longer exists? Or Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or Poland? Or, finally, the Soviet Union? But nowadays, Moscow and the capitals of the Western states stand together on many points and are working to ensure peaceful living conditions for all the peoples and their security.

Given the transformation of the Warsaw Pact and the radical reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, NATO is becoming an organization without a purpose, an army without an opponent. Europe's future will obviously become clearer after the upcoming CSCE summit in Paris. But even now it is clear that the future lies in the integration of a union of equal states with common security and cooperation structures. The key to the creation of a collective security system on the continent is to be found in the removal of the confrontation between the military blocs.

Movement along this path has already begun. The Warsaw Pact is effectively being turned into a strictly political organization and its military structures are beginning to atrophy. The Soviet Armed Forces are undergoing a major reduction. Their numbers have already been cut by 370,000 men. In Europe alone over 20,000 tanks, 20,000 artillery systems, and more than 860 warplanes have been cut.

In 1991 the USSR will complete the withdrawal of its units from Hungary and Czechoslovakia and begin their withdrawal from Germany, thus reducing the more than 200,000-strong troop grouping in central Europe. The withdrawal of troops from Germany and Poland will be completed in the next 2-3 years—another 350,000 men. We are organizing the country's defense on the basis of reasonable sufficiency and only within our national borders. The Armed Forces' entire structure is being transformed in a defensive spirit. The number of military districts, armies, and divisions is being reduced and the correlation between offensive and defensive systems is being altered in favor the latter.

The volume of arms production in 1989-1990 has been reduced by almost one-fifth. Purchases of combat helicopters, for example, have been cut from 338 in 1988 to 118, that is, approximately 60 percent. Purchases of tanks have fallen by 40 percent, infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers by 30 percent, warplanes by 30 percent, and munitions by 27 percent. The 1990 military budget has been cut by 8.2 percent (from 77.3 billion rubles to 70.9 billion rubles).

Our interlocutors in Brussels were informed of all this. They were also told that the main task in preparing our Armed Forces is to master the principles and means of organizing and conducting retaliatory actions to repel aggression; and to bring the entire system and quality of military cadre and personnel training into line with the demands of combat readiness, the level of the technical equipment of the army and navy, and the content of their combat tasks.

All these are our practical actions. They create the material basis for the new model of national and general European security.

We can see, and this was discussed in Brussels, that the NATO countries have also taken a number of important decisions. Much has already changed in their military activity and interesting new plans have been outlined. In particular, one can only welcome U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney's statement on the readiness to reduce the

number of U.S. troops in Europe by 40,000 men and cut around 100 military bases and installations overseas. The North Atlantic alliance's London Declaration proclaimed a whole program of actions, including a review of military doctrine and strategy and a definition of NATO's place and role in the future Europe. These statements must be backed up by practical actions, particularly wih regard to transforming the North Atlantic alliance.

At the same time, the representatives of the alliance's military leadership have been posed a number of questions. For example, what will the NATO bloc be like in 1-2 years? A fundamental question. On the one hand, in the USSR people see a striving for the unification of Europe and the creation of a joint security system within the CSCE framework. On the other, they see the clear line toward the strengthening of the NATO bloc, including its military organization, and the extension of its activity beyond the limits of the designated "zone of responsibility."

I have already said that the London Declaration made a major demand for a review of NATO's military doctrine and strategy ("flexible response" and "forward-based defense"). We would like to know how near these intentions are to being realized?

Thanks to the meetings in Brussels we received worthwhile information first-hand, as it were. The North Atlantic alliance's military leadership does not object in principle to the Soviet concept of common European security. It declares its readiness to transform its alliance, to reduce its armed forces in Europe, primarily those stationed on FRG territory, and to change its views on their use in connection with the changes on the continent and the transformation of the Warsaw Pact into a political-consultative organ. In M. Woerner's words, the North Atlantic alliance poses no threat to the USSR and in 2-3 years' time the Soviet Union will not recognize NATO.

But how is common European security to be built? What are the role and place of NATO and the new structures in maintaining stability on the continent? We were given a tough and unambiguous answer here: The question of NATO is not subject to revision, "there can be no return to 1939" on security policy, and therefore the NATO bloc must be preserved as "insurance" and a guarantee of the West European countries' security. The new structures for maintaining stability must augment the NATO bloc, not replace it.

Ideas such as the need to retain a U.S. presence in Europe as a stabilizing factor, for example, have been advanced as justification for the preservation of the alliance, including its military organization. As M. Woerner and V. Eide believe, if there is no NATO, the United States will leave Europe, it will not remain on the continent in the CSCE framework. Without the Americans' participation, it is said, many political processes in Europe do not work.

The interlocutors also cited the possibility of the emergence of armed conflicts similar to the Balkan wars or North-South conflicts and the increased threat from the proliferation of nuclear and missile technology and religious fundamentalism. In their words, there are many different threats in the world today. In their opinion, only NATO can control all these threats.

It was not directly stated but you could sense anxiety over the further development of the united Germany and the possibility of its being transformed into the dominant force in Europe as its economic and concealed military might grow. That prospect, it is argued, necessitates NATO's military structures, the strengthening of the WEU and the EEC, and the organization of permanent monitoring.

Thus, at the North Atlantic alliance headquarters I was constantly told that despite the changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the beginning of the process of conventional armed forces reduction, the NATO bloc and its military organization will play a leading role in safeguarding security for a long time to come and will be the main instrument of alliance policy in Europe and adjoining regions. However they also noted here that they no longer consider the Soviet Union their opponent, even though the USSR remains the largest military power in Europe.

NATO's military-strategic concepts will clearly change in a defensive direction, as my interlocutors stated. But the concept of "deterrence" will probably remain, even though it will be based on new decisions in the sphere of military building. In particular, NATO's allied armed forces will be changed into multinational formations with a large strike force and maximum mobility. There was no sensible answer to my doubts that the armed forces' high mobility and strike force are mainly characteristic of an offensive rather than defensive strategy. To be honest, that is alarming.

The United States and NATO do not want to consider our concerns about naval forces, either. The alliance's military men did not express doubts about the course of the talks in Vienna and Geneva. Nor did they have any objections to continuing the disarmament process and beginning the preparation to continue talks within the Geneva-2 and Vienna-2 framework with an expansion of the scale of reduction of armed forces and armaments and with the inclusion of other nuclear states, apart from the USSR and the United States, in the negotiating process on nuclear weapons, although some restraint was expressed with regard to the beginning of talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. But their flat rejection of the reduction of naval forces can only be viewed as an attempt to achieve military superiority by the uncontroled development of fleets, particularly aircraft carrier strike formations. Such an approach cannot be called fair or realistic.

Nevertheless, during the dialogue it was stressed that in building future relations between the USSR and NATO

it is necessary to preserve the existing positive elements. Specifically, the arms reduction process must not be allowed to stop but must be reinforced, made irreversible, and applied to other types of weapons. The build up of arms and attempts to put weapons into space do not resolve security problems. They merely lead to a senseless waste of resources and to confrontation.

Special attention was paid to preserving coinciding interests in the sphere of confidence and the definitive rejection of confrontation and the "enemy image." We are now shedding that quite quickly even though in Western propaganda you sometimes meet attempts to cast doubt on USSR military policy. But these are relics from the past. Present reality is, however, that when the Vienna accords are achieved it will no longer be possible to imagine large-scale aggression in Europe. All ground forces' military activity from the Atlantic to the Urals is now clearly visible.

It was emphasized that there is great value in military contacts which, it was generally believed, create a firm fabric of trust and a lowering of military tension and promote mutual understanding. Most of the contacts are productive. Last year alone the USSR signed an agreement with the United States on preventing dangerous military activity between the two countries' armed forces; with the FRG, France, The Netherlands, Britain, Italy, and Norway on preventing incidents at sea; and with a large number of states on measures to develop ties among armed forces. This entire treaty-based legal system is aimed at strengthening stability and security.

The good work must be developed so that military contacts assume a regular, planned character and apply to meetings of military representatives at all levels. In connection with the changes in Europe, for example, why not study jointly the question of establishing a telephone hotline between the command points of NATO's supreme allied commander in Europe and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and, when necessary, exchange operations groups within those organs for the prompt receipt of information and monitoring each other's military activity? I am thinking aloud here—with an eye to the future. But processes are developing so rapidly that the future may not be so far away.

It is also desirable to continue dialogue on the comparison of military doctrines. During that dialogue we should also discuss their evolution in a defensive direction after the Vienna seminar and exchange opinions on possible criteria of defense sufficiency and for evaluating the character of the military threat.

In brief, the NATO military leadership was told that the sides must move toward one another, then the goal will be achieved. The elimination of military confrontation will fit naturally into the overall positive process and we will be able to move on to a new structure of common European security without upsetting stability.

As for the USSR's policy in the security sphere, the NATO members can rest assured that it will continue to be built, if I may put it that way, within a pan-human system of coordinates. This system consists of such values as a nonnuclear, nonviolent, and democratic world and an all-embracing security that is identical for all.

United States & Canada

Washington Awaits Baker-Shevardnadze Talks

PM0711161690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 90 Union Edition p 5

[Article by diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin: "James Baker Flies Into Moscow"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrives in Moscow on the evening of 7 November. His talks with Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze begin the next morning. A meeting between Baker and M.S. Gorbachev is scheduled for 1800 hours. The ministers will continue their talks after the end of that meeting. On the morning of 9 November the secretary of state will fly from the Soviet capital to London—the next stage on his tour of the Near East and Europe.

Commenting on Baker's trip, U.S. commentators point out that Washington is impatiently awaiting the results of the Moscow talks. There can be no doubt that the Persian Gulf will be at the center of attention. Now that the crisis is inexorably coming to a head (or, to use Baker's words, has "entered a new phase"), it is important for the Americans to ascertain the Soviet Union's position and, above all, the question of how Moscow will react to the use of force against Saddam Husayn.

The Soviet position, which only one month ago seemed clear and unambiguous to Washington, today arouses some concern there. This is not stated officially, but you can sense the anxiety in statements by administration spokesmen: Is the USSR not moving away from its former line? It seems that the chief purpose of Baker's visit is to obtain guarantees from the Soviet Union that its approach remains immutable.

At first it had been proposed to hold the meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Geneva. Then it was moved to Moscow. Well-informed interlocutors have made it clear that this happened on the initiative of the secretary of state. One can only guess at the reasons. It cannot be ruled out that Baker insisted on the move so as to have an opportunity to meet with Gorbachev, some of whose recent statements were greeted unenthusiastically in Washington. Above all—the Soviet president's statement in Paris about the unacceptability of a military solution and about an apparent evolution in Saddam Husayn's policy. The U.S. Administration viewed those words as a departure from the positions held by Gorbachev at his Helsinki meeting with Bush.

It may be assumed that Baker will attempt to ascertain whether Moscow is ready to vote for the adoption of a Security Council resolution based on Article 42 of the UN Charter (which provides for the use of force against an aggressor if other measures have failed to produce a result).

According to a Foreign Ministry spokesmen, with whom I spoke on the eve of the visit, the upcoming talks between Baker and Shevardnadze will not be devoted exclusively to the Persian Gulf. (As regards the secretary of state's meeting with Gorbachev, there, on the contrary, the crisis alone will most likely be discussed). In addition to the Gulf, the foreign ministers must discuss at least two other important problems. First, there are still several unresolved questions connected with the Vienna disarmament talks. The second topic is the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, where it is also necessary to coordinate positions on a number of questions. In the opinion of Soviet diplomats, it can be expected that the treaty will be prepared for signing toward the end of the year. The timing of President Bush's visit to our country depends on how things go at the talks on strategic offensive arms. He might come to Moscow to sign the treaty early in 1991—unless, of course, events in the Persian Gulf introduce changes....

The precise date of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Washingtom will most likely be announced at the end of the Moscow talks between Baker and Shevardnadze. It is intended that it will take place in early December.

U.S. Midterm Elections Maintain Status Quo

PM0811120390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 90 Union Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev: "Preserving the Status Quo; Preliminary Results of U.S. Midterm Elections Summed Up"]

[Excerpts] New York—The final results of Tuesday's elections in the United States still have to be summed up. But we can already say on the basis of the preliminary results that the Republicans have been beaten. Not too pitilessly, however. [passage omitted]

There is no denying that the economic situation provides considerable grounds for succumbing to pessimism and abusing everyone around over and over. According to polls on the eve of the election, 66 percent of Americans are convinced that America's economic position is bad and 57 percent think that it has been harder to make ends meet lately. Everything is relative, of course. For a Soviet citizen a visit to any American general store or even a roadside store in an impoverished town in the boondocks would disprove American experts' most pessimistic forecasts and gloomiest opinions as regards the U.S. economic situation.

But America thinks that its life is becoming harder and harder. It is inclined to blame the government above all for this, that is the administration directly, including the president, and the Congress. This is somewhat contradictory at first glance: The administration is controlled by the Republicans and the Congress by the Democrats, who in yesterday's election held 55 of the 100 Senate

seats and 260 of the 420 seats in the House of Representatives. You would not have thought that two opposing parties—one in opposition, the other the ruling party—could be equally to blame.

They cannot be, by our yardsticks. In our country people try to find culprits in the government above all. But the poll which once again demonstrated Americans' growing concern over the state of the national economy also showed that, while voicing dissatisfaction with the administration's actions, the voters are even more dissatisfied with the Congress' actions. More than 70 percent of those polled—both Democrats and Republicans—said that they are unhappy with the way in which the House of Representatives and the Senate do their job. [passage omitted]

U.S. political specialists are convinced that the American voter has grown tired and weary of the current status quo, that the voter wants change, new blood, new ideas, and new input. Nevertheless only a few people suggested that the voters would ignominiously reject the "elected aristocracy" and choose new people.

This is not in fact what has happened. Americans preferred to confine themselves to rejecting many Republican candidates in the elections. Traditionally any U.S. midterm elections inevitably lead to the ruling party's losing some seats in Congress and in local authorities.

In other respects everything has remained virtually as it was before: The "elected aristocracy" has once again demonstrated that it has a firm grip on power, that it has no intention of giving up its power, and—and this is in my view the most important thing—that it is prepared to deal in a fitting manner with any blitzes inflicted by voters tired of the status quo. Barring very very small exceptions, the composition of the federal Congress has not changed. The state of affairs at local level still has to be finally clarified, but I do not think that there will be any extraordinary surprises there either.

China

PRC Spokesman Hits Moscow Mayor's Taiwan Visit

PM0711161990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 90 Union Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Echoes of G.H. Popov's Visit to Taipei"]

[Text] Beijing—"How would you comment on reports in the Taiwan press about the Moscow mayor's visit to Taiwan and his meetings with high-ranking officials?" the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman was asked at the weekly news briefing.

"We will react to any actions that violate China's sovereignty," Li Jinhua answered. "There is only one China," she said, repeating Beijing's immutable position, "and Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory, and the PRC Government is the only lawful government representing all of the Chinese people."

Li Jinhua noted that China resolutely rejects any contacts of an official nature between Taiwan and the countries with which it [China] has diplomatic relations. The Chinese Government is opposed to any situations of the "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan" kind. Incidentally, at the recent Asian Games in Beijing the very large Taiwan team participated under the "Chinese Taipei" flag. This formula suited Beijing.

At the same time, let us turn our attention to another explanation given by the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman (which was repeated many times): "We have never objected to economic, trade, and cultural exchanges that are unofficial in nature."

The Chinese press did not publish information about Popov's unexpected visit to Taipei. But, as Hong Kong newspapers testify, he stated that his visit has no bearing on Moscow's ties with Beijing, since it is of a private nature, that is, it obviously falls within the category of a visit that is "unofficial by nature," such as the ones the PRC Foreign Ministry mentioned in its statement. It will be recalled that the USSR's position on the Taiwan problem has always been invariable. Even in the difficult years of confrontation and ideological wrangles, the USSR always considered Taiwan to be an inalienable part of China.

To return to the visit of the Moscow mayor. As agencies reported from Taipei, Taiwan is convinced that the visit will help in the development of trade, cultural, and sports links. Taiwan intends to open its market to Soviet goods and it is prepared to give the USSR official financial assistance through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]. There are plans to invite the Soviet Union together with the United States and EC countries to participate in open international markets organized under Taiwan's auspices, where the USSR can offer its equipment for sale.

According to official Taiwan statistics, Taiwan's trade with the Soviet Union in the first ten months of this year has made up $77 million (it was $55 million for the corresponding period last year) The figures are not impressive, but the trend is hopeful. At a time when exports from Taiwan to the United States and Japan (trade partners Nos. 1 and 2) are decreasing, the Soviet Union and East European countries are becoming the most dynamic markets: In the first nine months of this year, exports have doubled. Imports are growing not as impressively but nevertheless stably. But let us not delude ourselves. After all, the total volume of Taiwan's foreign trade this year is evidently going to be $120 billion. And the share of the USSR and East Europe is not even close to one percent!

Soon traveling salesmen will be sent to both the Soviet Union and East European countries to offer clothes and consumer goods for sale. Trade missions have already

been opened in Hungary and Yugoslavia. Other countries will be next in line. Taiwan exports mainly textiles, computers, shoes, toys, and equipment. It mainly imports chemicals and equipment.

Internal political instability, high prices, a shortage of labor, dependence on world oil prices (98 percent of crude oil is imported) are forcing Taiwan businessmen to look for new markets and new partners.

Assessing the growing interest in trade with the USSR and East Europe, the spokesman for the council for the development of foreign trade—a semi-official agency in Taiwan—assessed the situation in one word: "Feverish."

PRC Friendship Society President Praises Ties

OW0711031690 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Report by Beijing correspondent (Popoyang)]

[Text] On 5 November, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association held a film reception in Beijing to celebrate the 73d anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Wu Xiuquan, member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission Standing Committee and president of the China-USSR Friendship Association; Tian Zengpei, the PRC vice foreign minister; and other notables from some Chinese ministries and commissions attended this reception.

Attending this reception on the Soviet side were Solovyev, Soviet ambassador to China; Tikhvinskiy, president of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Central Council; some staff members of Soviet agencies in China; and Soviet students from some institutions of higher learning in Beijing.

Han Xu, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, gave a welcoming speech to the attendees at the reception.

[Begin Han Xu recording] On the eve of the 73d anniversary of the October Revolution, we are very happy to celebrate this great day with Soviet comrades. First, please allow me to express, on behalf of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association, to Comrade Ambassador Solovyev and his wife, Comrade President Tikhvinskiy, all Soviet comrades present here, and, through you, to the Soviet people, a warm, sincere, and festive greeting.

The October Revolution not only profoundly changed the Soviet people's destiny, it also had an enormous impact on the world. The Chinese revolution occurred under the influence of the October Revolution, which brought Marxism-Leninism to China. Through their creative work, the Soviet people have attained great achievements in socialist construction in their own country.

The Chinese people are very concerned about all that is going on in the USSR, [words indistinct]. At present, the Soviet people are experiencing a difficult period. We sincerely hope that the Soviet people, who have the great tradition of the October Revolution, will overcome difficulties and score new achievements on their road of advances through reform. [end recording]

Comrade Han Xu and Solovyev, Soviet ambassador to China, who spoke later, expressed their satisfaction with positive developments in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Chinese Editor Ends Visit, Praises Tour

OW0811061990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Dear listeners: At PRAVDA's invitation, a RENMIN RIBAO delegation, led by Chief Editor Zhao Huaze, paid a two-week visit to the USSR. Commenting on his impressions of the trip, Zhao Huaze said that it was unforgettable. On the eve of his return to China, he spoke to station reporter Machinker.

[Begin recording] [Zhao] This is the first visit to the USSR for all members of our delegation. We received a warm welcome everywhere we went. Upon our arrival in Moscow, Comrade Frolov of PRAVDA met us in person. He held talks with us; he also entertained us. When we went to Leningrad, the secretary of the Central Secretariat and first secretary of the party committee of Leningrad Oblast received us. In [word indistinct], the second secretary of Crimea briefed us on local conditions. We had the opportunity to meet local leaders when we visited various places. In Yalta, the first secretary of the party committee of Yalta received us. We feel, in our capacity as CPC news agency reporters, very satisfied with the trip.

We visited some sacred places of the October Revolution, PRAVDA, and East Europe. [as heard] In Moscow, we visited [word indistinct] and the Lenin Mausoleum, as well as some research departments. This was a very meaningful experience for us. We are very impressed with the careful arrangements for this trip.

[Machinker] When visiting Crimea, your delegation visited [words indistinct]. In your opinion, what are living conditions for farmers like there?

[Zhao] We have a very favorable impression of farmers' living conditions. During our visit to a local collective farm, the farm's leader briefed us. We visited their farm and recreation facilities. We also saw their gymnasium and bookstore. We think that this collective farm's achievements are remarkable. Their average wage is close to three hundred rubles. The farm has a nursery and a school for babies and children. These facilities are very helpful to farmers. There is an excellent gymnasium, tavern, and swimming pool for the workers; there is also a coffee shop on the farm. I have also observed that remarkable socialist achievements have been made

in your country in the process of your national building. This is something we will tell our countrymen. [end recording]

Those were remarks by Zhao Huaze, chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, made in his interview with our station reporter. The delegation left the USSR for China on 8 November.

Northeast Asia

Japan Reported Willing To Provide Food Aid

LD0811111190 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 8 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo November 8 TASS—Japanese Foreign Ministry officials issued a statement on Wednesday, saying that Japan should, as circumstances demand, give emergency food aid to the Soviet Union, which may face serious difficulties with food supply to the population this winter due to the critical condition of its economy.

The statement says that Japan, just like the United States and Western Europe, may begin urgent deliveries of food to the Soviet Union if the internal situation in that country worsens this winter.

Japanese Foreign Ministry senior executives reached the conclusion on the need to provide aid following close consultations with representatives of the European Community headquarters, engaged in elaborating policies vis-a-vis the USSR, and also senior Soviet officials, the MAINICHI newspaper reports.

Local observers point out that the statement signals some softening in Tokyo's tough official line in the question of extending exclusively "intellectual" assistance to the Soviet Union until the problem of "Northern Territories" is resolved.

Popov Proposal on Kuril Islands Protested

91UF0117A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by TASS political columnist Aleksandr Antsiferov: "Jurisdiction and Competence—Notes Regarding an Interview"]

[Text] On 26 October, the newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA published an interview with Sergey Stankevich, the deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies. He gave this interview to a TASS special correspondent in Japan, where he arrived together with Gavril Popov, chairman of the Mossovet [Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies], and that is the reason, probably, why such an important place in his answers to questions was devoted to international problems, and, in particular, to Soviet-Japanese relations.

As is known, they are far from simple: A peace treaty has not been signed between our countries 45 years after the end of World War II, although negotiations on it are being conducted. Japanese claims to full sovereignty regarding the four southern islands of the Kuril chain have become a stumbling block. The same ones about which Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, speaking on 15 October to the USSR Supreme Soviet, declared that the "question of their transfer (to Japan—A.A.) is not being considered." We believe, the minister emphasized, that from legal, historical, and other positions, no grounds exist for making claims on the Soviet Union.

However, the leadership of the Mossovet has its own opinion on this score. According to the Popov-Stankevich plan, called this by one of the co-authors and set forth by him in the interview, in the final analysis the Soviet Union should repudiate full sovereignty over the islands and steer the issue toward establishing control over them by some "joint Russo-Japanese administration." Sergey Stankevich, according to his words, discussed this idea during his visit to Tokyo with representatives of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, and, moreover, as he expressed himself, he "was listened to with interest."

I have no intention of involving myself now in a purely hypothetical discussion of what this "joint control" would mean in practice, if the Popov-Stankevich plan was implemented. I have a question: But, actually, what relationship does the vice mayor of the city have, even if it is a capital twice, to islands situated thousands of kilometers from the sphere of his activity? In other words, is a decision on the fate of the ill-starred islands within Sergey Stankevich's jurisdiction? I called up the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It seems that no one ever heard of the Popov-Stankevich plan. Not to mention any kind of authority.

I would be ready to allow that Sergey Stankevich coordinated the plan proposed to the Japanese not only with his chief—Gavril Popov—but that he discussed it directly with interested persons: residents of the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin Oblast, and at least with their representative—Valentin Fedorov, chairman of the Sakhalin oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. But this is not so. I can make this judgment myself, since I returned quite recently from a trip to this region, and I met and conversed with the leadership of this island oblast. The opinion of Valentin Fedorov is unequivocal: He is categorically against plans of the kind that the Mossovet is putting forth.

For convincingness, I quote an excerpt from a letter by the chairman of the Sakhalin oblispolkom published recently in the newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. This is what Valentin Fedorov writes, emphasizing that his position is supported by Sakhalin and Kuril citizens: "I must say beforehand: Those who continue to raise

doubt about the existing Kuril status will feel our opposition. We will initiate legal action that will end up with the resignation of these figures, no matter what high positions they hold."

It seems that Valentin Fedorov's warning is hanging in the air. Because in the very same interview, Sergey Stankevich declared that he himself, together with those who think similarly, is seriously considering the possibility of resignation, because of differences of opinion with the president, the Union Government, and employees of city services and departments.

It is difficult, of course, to expect loyalty with respect to the government from a person who speaks out against this government. However, I, as a Muscovite, have a right to demand loyalty from the voters. To discard everything and to go into opposition now (moreover, no one is demanding his resignation), when Moscow is experiencing a time that may be the most dramatic since November 1941—how is this supposed to be construed?

In putting forth their candidacies for the elections last spring, did they not know what kind of work they were getting into? In proclaiming slogans and programs and vowing to us, the voters, to implement them, they, it appears, forgot to warn us that we cannot count on them at a critical moment....

To avoid a misunderstanding, I will say in conclusion that these notes reflect the author's personal point of view. I say this in the event that someone will take it into his head to take a shot in the dark: And who authorized this so-and-so?

[Signed] Not authorized by anyone, Aleksandr Antsiferov, TASS political columnist.

Japan Sea Conference Issues Appeal

LD0711142290 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 7 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Agarkov]

[Text] Niigata November 7 TASS—An international conference "for the development of cooperation in the Sea of Japan area" ended in this largest port on Japan's western coast today.

The forum, attended by representatives of the Soviet Union, China, North and South Korea, and Japanese business circles, public and scientific organisations, was held on the initiative of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and with the active support of Niigata prefecture authorities.

For two days the delegates exchanged views on ways and prospects for the development of versatile cooperation in the Sea of Japan area.

Participants in the forum were unanimous about the need to make the area a zone of peace and cooperation, which meets the vital interests of the peoples of all countries situated in the area.

Takako Doi, head of the JSP Central Executive Committee, and other speakers at the Niigata forum highly appreciated the Soviet leadership's policy of new thinking and the Soviet Union's peace initiatives aimed at easing tension in the Asian-Pacific region.

The idea of making the Sea of Japan a zone of peace and cooperation is consonant with the Soviet proposals, aimed at strengthening peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region, that found reflection in particular in Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech made in Krasnoyarsk, Doi said.

The authorities of many littoral Japanese prefectures, from the southern island of Kyushu to the northern island of Hokkaido, showed much interest in the idea of developing cooperation.

Governor Takahiro Yokomichi of Hokkaido pointed out in his remarks at the Niigata forum that it was essential to launch specific programmes for international regional cooperation as soon as possible and to overcome still existing barriers on the way to this goal.

Touching upon Soviet-Japanese economic contacts, the governor said that different approaches to trade cooperation, which manifest themselves at the Union, republican and local levels of late, bring about totally unjustified difficulties for the development of these relations on a mutually beneficial basis. At the same time, he praised the perestroyka programme being implemented in the Soviet Union and called for supporting it in every way.

"Profound interest in establishing economic and cultural cooperation, which manifested itself in reports made at the forum by representatives of the Soviet Union, Japan, China, North and South Korea, inspires great hopes that the governments of these countries will respond duly to the constructive ideas voices here," Atsushi Akiyama, a member of the Japanese Parliament, told TASS.

"The successful implementation of these ideas would make it possible to create a kind of model for the development of mutually beneficial versatile relations, which could be used as an example in the establishment of such cooperation on a larger scale throughout the Asian-Pacific region," he said.

A Niigata forum appeal adopted by the participants emphasises the importance of giving greater scope to bilateral and multilateral contacts already at this stage between countries of the Sea of Japan area, including contacts at the levels of territories, regions, provinces, prefectures, and maritime cities.

The appeal draws attention to the usefulness of holding regional international exhibitions, the stimulation of sea and air travel, and the expansion of exchanges of specialists, scientists and students of institutions of higher learning and contacts between the law-makers of the countries of the region.

Japan, DPRK Take Step Toward Normalization

PM0811095590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Nov 90 First Edition p 4

[By Sergey Tikhomirov "Correspondent's Comment": "After the Beijing Meeting"]

[Text] Pyongyang—If you disregard the fact that for the first time in 45 years Japanese and North Koreans have sat down at the negotiating table, albeit on neutral territory (in Beijing), you could probably say that as yet nothing in particular has happened in relations between Toyko and Pyongyang. Nevertheless, a step has been taken toward the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea. Admittedly the Beijing consultations did not yield tangible results. I think it will be some time before the two countries exchange diplomatic representatives.

But the real point, in my view, is not the sides' reluctance to establish diplomatic relations but the fact that the absence of such relations contradicts elementary common sense. It is plain that the travails of the past will have an impact on the incipient dialogue. As is known, from 1910 through 1945 Korea was part of the then Japanese empire. Incidentally, this is why the question of reparations, on which Pyongyang is insisting, is currently in the spotlight. Tokyo, too, is evidently aware of the need to compensate for damage. At the same time, the Japanese side is stipulating a whole series of conditions whose fulfillment, in its view, will promote the deepening of mutual understanding and is thus capable of bringing closer a solution to the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations with North Korea. Let me remind you that such relations were established with Seoul back in 1965.

It is primarily a question of how soon the DPRK concludes an agreement with the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] since the absence of such an agreement prevents not only Tokyo but also other neighboring countries from being convinced that Pyongyang is not working on the manufacture of its own nuclear weapons. Nor can Japan disregard the interests of the United States, its ally, or South Korea, which, in particular, insists that the development of Toyko's dialogue with Pyongyang should not be detrimental to relations with Seoul.

At a recent meeting with former Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Shino Kanemaru, who visited Pyongyang in September, Republic of Korea President No Tae-u urged that the normalization of Japanese-North Korean relations should promote the development of inter-Korea relations and exchanges. All the indications are that Washington takes a similar view. This evidently also explains Tokyo's reluctance to force the pace of events and its intention to act with extreme caution. Pyongyang seems to see things differently. For example, it has proposed that full-scale talks on the normalization of relations with Tokyo be started as early as this month.

A noteworthy detail: The so-called "cross-recognition" formula, whereby Seoul would be recognized by Moscow (which finally happened recently) and Beijing and simultaneously the DPRK would be recognized by the United States and Japan, is stubbornly rejected by North Korea in the belief that its implementation would lead to the "perpetuation of the division of Korea." But now all the indications are that there have been shifts in Pyongyang's position.

I believe that the reasons have to be sought not only in the serious economic problems that the DPRK is experiencing but also in recent events in the international arena. These include the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea. Literally days ago the two countries agreed to open trade missions. I also believe that there is going to be an exchange of embassies between China and South Korea in the very near future. Pyongyang's desire to avoid being isolated is understandable in this connection. I am sure that neither Seoul nor Moscow want this.

So, "exploratory" talks have taken place between North Korea and Japan. Without a shadow of a doubt they will promote not only the easing of tension in the region but also an at least temporary halt to the propaganda crossfire which in the last 45 years has only led to the intensification of mutual hostility and mistrust between these neighboring countries.

Prospects for Ties With South Korea Viewed

PM0611171190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 90 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Development of Ties"]

[Text] On 1 November V.A. Medvedev, member of the USSR Presidential Council, received Chong Chu-yong, chairman of the Korean-Soviet Economic Association and honorary chairman of Hyundai, the ROK's major financial and industrial group. The possibilities for the development of Soviet-South Korean economic relations opening up following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the ROK were examined thoroughly during the talks.

Participating in the talks were V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, and Kong No-myong, who has been appointed ROK ambassador to the USSR.

ROK Ambassador Views Economic Relations

PM0711151490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with Kong No-myong, ambassador-designate of the Republic of Korea to the USSR, by Yu. Tavrovskiy in Moscow; date not given: "USSR-ROK: Time To Harvest the Fruits of Normalization"]

[Text] [Tavrovskiy] The blue, red, and white flag of the Republic of Korea with the ancient natural philosophy

symbol of the struggle between the forces of Yin and Yang in the middle is not flying over this four-story modernist building not far from the former embassy of what was the GDR. Nor does the only sign announce that here is the diplomatic mission of a state with which the USSR established diplomatic relations very recently—30 September this year. The inscription is curt: "16/95, Lenin Prospect."

Nor has Kong No-myong, future ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the ROK, yet had time to present his credentials to the USSR president. But flags, signs, and ceremonies are beside the point. The main thing is that Soviet foreign policy has distanced itself by one more step from the unrealistic position of not recognizing "inconvenient" states. With this step we have come closer to extracting legitimate benefits from our country's Eurasian location.

It is time to ask the first question. But first I would like to share with you the surprise I felt on reading the characters on the visiting card. In Korean, they read "Kong No-myong," but in the Chinese original the name reads "Kong Luming." Any Sinologist, looking at these characters, will realize that he is dealing with a descendant of Confucius, the great thinker of ancient China. "Yes," the ambassador says, proudly confirming my conjecture, "I am a 79th-generation descendant of Confucius. One of my ancestors, an academic and courtier, accompanied a Chinese princess who was given in marriage to a Korean king of the Koryo dynasty...."

After this headlong flight into the history of medieval diplomacy, it is hard to return to present-day concerns. But there is no escape from them, and so this was my first question:

In recent months USSR-ROK relations have developed rapidly in all areas, despite the absence of interstate relations. What can be expected now?

[Kong] Indeed, in the last year or two bilateral relations have taken tremendous strides. Trade turnover in 1988 amounted to only $150 million, last year the indicators rose to 600 million, and on the basis of the current year's results trade will probably exceed $1 billion. The establishment of diplomatic relations will certainly stimulate the further development of trade and facilitate the investment of capital in the soviet economy, and will also promote the formation of joint enterprises and the realization of major projects on which the two countries' governments are conducting talks. We await the arrival of a Soviet delegation in Seoul to complete the economic cooperation talks which began in Moscow. It is a question of fairly large-scale projects which provide for the transfer of high technology, the construction of plants on a "turnkey" basis, and so forth.

We are to sign a whole series of documents to improve the "climate of enterprise." First and foremost there are intergovernmental agreements on guarantees for capital investments and on avoiding dual taxation, a trade agreement, and an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation.

I would like to mention particularly the fishing agreement. It is very important to both countries. My country was the first to allow the Soviet fishing fleet its own docks and ship repair yards. Our firms are actively transferring modern fish processing technology to Soviet enterprises. I cannot neglect to mention that in the recent past certain Soviet organizations looked suspiciously on cooperation with the ROK in this sphere, fearing "exploitation." In fact, business ties between the two countries' fishermen are genuinely mutually beneficial. Take, for instance, the Pacific pollack, which I do not think is very popular among Soviet consumers. The Koreans traditionally value this type of fish highly. And we buy the Soviet pollack at a price three times the price established in deals with the Americans. But we are interested in stable supplies, and here an appropriate long-term agreement is essential.

[Tavrovskiy] So bilateral relations have been developing very successfully, and, having been given official status, will develop still more rapidly. But difficulties and obstacles still remain. What are they?

[Kong] Frankly, I see no particular difficulties. The fact is that the economic structures of the Soviet Union and the ROK supplement one another remarkably well. The Soviet Union has a highly developed science and technology and has created a vast fundamental research potential. My country is relatively weak here, but it is strong when it comes to the rapid introduction of scientific and technical achievements into industrial production. If we can pool our efforts, the results will soon be apparent. Another sphere of cooperation is textiles and clothing, household electronics, household chemicals, and other consumer goods, which are in such short supply in the Soviet Union and are produced in such large quantitites by the ROK.

My country is prepared to make substantial capital investments and transfer technology and "knowhow" to your enterprises. In fact, joint enterprises have already been or are being created with the participation of giants of Korean industry like Samsung, Lucky Goldstar, and Hyundai. The problems you asked about do indeed exist. But they are the very same problems that exist with countries that have maintained diplomatic relations with Moscow for many decades: differences in the laws and traditions of conducting business, bureaucracy, restrictions on exporting the currency section of profits.

[Tavrovskiy] What do your embassy and your country think about the USSR's transition to the market economy, and what does the South Korean business world expect to happen?

[Kong] We very much hope for the success of the economic reform. And not only because it will be easier

for our businessmen to do business. A catastrophe for the Soviet economy would be a disaster on a worldwide scale.

[Tavrovskiy] What does Mr. Ambassador think about the impact of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Seoul on inner-Korean dialogue?

[Kong] In the long and medium term the normalization of relations between Moscow and Seoul will be a very favorable factor for North-South Korean rapprochement. In the short term problems are possible, and the tone of statements in the Pyongyang press is bordering on hysteria—that is true. In fact Soviet-South Korean normalization accords with the national interests of Korea as a whole and of each of its two parts. Pyongyang's main argument about "perpetuating the division of Korea" looks unconvincing—after all, the DPRK maintains diplomatic relations with more than 80 states which also have relations with Seoul. So is that "perpetuating the division" too? The real reason is Pyongyang's displeasure over something else. In the course of contacts with our side, its representatives now speak honestly about this. They do not want my country, with a population of 42 million, to swallow up their country, with a population of 22 million; they do not want their economy, with its obvious weaknesses, to be subordinate to the economic might of South Korea, whose GNP is six or seven times greater than North Korea's. Well, those fears are understandable. That makes it all the more desirable, however, to ensure international legal backup for the existing realities before achieving the common goal and beginning the process of peaceful unification of the Korean nation.

[Tavrovskiy] What important events can be expected in the progressive development of USSR-ROK political relations?

[Kong] During the meeting between our presidents in San Francisco, there was talk of an exchange of official visits. This idea was reasserted during the September meeting of the two foreign ministers in New York. Now it only remains to set the dates for the visits.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. MIA Office Opening in Hanoi Debated

BK0711100990 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Report by station observer Oleg Alekseyev on the "First Official U.S. Representation To Be Set Up in Vietnam since 1975"]

[Text] Unofficial contacts between Hanoi and Washington linked with the search for Americans missing in action have begun for some time now. The search conducted by the Vietnamese authorities have produced some results. For instance, the remains of a number of U.S. servicemen have been found and sent back to the United States. Yet, not too long ago, Washington did not even want to entertain the idea of opening a U.S. representation in Hanoi to coordinate the work. Naturally, this had a very negative impact on the results of the search. Now, the situation has changed. Moreover, I think the inauguration of the first official U.S. representation in Vietnam after 15 years is more significant, for this is another step toward normalizing Vietnamese-U.S. relations in general. Officials have linked this move with a demand for the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The troop withdrawal was concluded in September 1989.

That is what the main story is all about. But I should also point out here that long after this process materialized, officials in Washington were slow in making official contact with Hanoi. Some progress was made last summer in July, when U.S. Secretary of State Baker stated that the U.S. Administration was ready to begin talks with Hanoi on the Cambodian issue and other matters of mutual concern. Within the framework of these talks, a number of U.S.- Vietnamese meetings have been held. And both Hanoi and Washington have pointed out that these meetings had taken place in a constructive atmosphere. The inauguration of the official U.S. representation in Hanoi also clearly testifies to this fact.

U.S. Congressional Bill on Cambodian Aid Praised

BK0811103390 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Congress recently amended the bill on foreign aid for 1991. This bill deals with direct relations with the Phnom Penh government. Our observer, Oleg Alekseyev, writes the following.

The essence of the amendment adopted by the Congress is that from now on, U.S. humanitarian aid should be provided not only to Cambodian people living on Thai territory, but also to people living under the administration of the Phnom Penh Government. If the U.S. President passes this amendment, the United States will be the first to take food supplies and goods to Cambodia. For the people in a country that has suffered from war for many years, this aid would be of real help. The essence of the amendment adopted by the U.S. Congress will not stop at the humanitarian level. More importantly, there is a political factor in this.

Everyone knows that to this day the Washington Administration not only does not recognize the Phnom Penh Government, but also has not entered into any negotiations with it. It is true that since the summer U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has said that the Administration plans to hold talks with Phnom Penh. As THE WASHINGTON POST has pointed out, however, the U.S. Administration has not yet taken any concrete steps. In this respect, what are the possibilities offered by the amendment adopted by the U.S. Congress when this bill on 1991 foreign aid takes effect?

This amendment would require the U.S. Administration to send an official delegation to Phnom Penh to prepare a report on the Cambodian people's needs. The amendement says that this report should work toward distributing humanitarian aid in Cambodia. U.S. Senator John Danforth has said that since the international development office attached to the government will discuss and exchange views with officials in Phnom Penh, such contacts will certainly contribute to normalizing the relations between the United States and Cambodia.

The text of the amendment to the foreign aid bill contains a clause which U.S. lawyers consider especially important. This clause says that within 30 days following the conclusion of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia, the U.S. Administration will discuss and debate the possibility of lifting trade sanctions against Cambodia. In the current situation, this is a topical issue. In my view, this is in accordance with the U.S. stand that the U.S. wants to reexamine its policy in Indochina. Apart from this, there are favorable conditions for U.S. companies to trade with this country or inject capital into Cambodia's economy.

I would like to recall that economic reforms are just events which lead a country into a situation in which free exchanges are possible. In sum, as U.S. Senator John Danforth has stressed, the U.S. amendment will bring the U.S. policy on Cambodia in line with the situation in Cambodia. He said our task is to assist in creating conditions which get this country's people away from the threat and power of the most bloodthirsty political organization since Nazi Germany.

Near East & South Asia

Minesweeper Rescues Trawler From Moroccan Navy

PM0611160490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by Captain Second Rank B. Alyakrinskiy under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Pirates Once Again"]

[Text] Northern Fleet—On one of the last days of October a Moroccan Navy launch approached the Soviet fishing trawler AG-1845 in a fishing ground off the coasts of northwest Africa. The launch commander demanded that the trawler follow him to the port of Dakhla. The captain of the Soviet vessel refused to fulfill the illegal demands, and then Moroccan sailors opened fire. The captain was injured by fragments of a shell which hit the deckhouse. The trawler crew were forced to obey and change course.

Unfortunately, this is not the first instance of piracy at sea against Soviet fishing vessels in that region, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported.

This time the Artillerist, an ocean minesweeper of the Northern Fleet fulfilling combat service tasks, was 50 miles from the scene of the occurrence. On receiving information about the incident, Captain Third Rank G. Perepechin, commander of the minesweeper, set his vessel on course to assist the fishermen.

Three hours later the Artillerist drew near to the trawler under escort. Another Moroccan Navy launch was alongside it in addition to the launch which had intercepted it. The Artillerist's commander issued a protest over an international radio communications channel about the Moroccan launches' unlawful actions. The minesweeper took up a position between the trawler and the launch which had attacked, screening our vessel with its own hull. After unsuccessful attempts—thanks to the Artillerist's skillful maneuvering—to approach the Soviet trawler once again the Moroccan launches set off for home. Medical Service Lieutenant V. Galiy went on board the trawler and operated on the injured captain—he extracted several shell fragments, after which the trawler returned to the fishing ground.

The commander in chief of the Navy has expressed gratitude to the entire crew of the minesweeper Artillerist for their skilled and enterprising actions in ensuring the Soviet vessel's safety.

Hopes for 'New Political Line' Seen in Pakistan

PM0711125790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Mian Nawaz Sharif Is Pakistan's New Prime Minister"]

[Excerpts] Islamabad, 6 November—Mian Nawaz Sharif, leader of the Islamic Democratic Alliance [IJI], has today been elected prime minister of Pakistan. [passage omitted]

The local press and the public are pinning on the election of M.N. Sharif their expectations for a new political line symbolizing a departure from previous traditions and capable of ending feudal circles' control of national policy. It is believed that the main task of the IJI Government will be to resolve Pakistan's serious economic problems. The M.N. Sharif administration is faced with the task of mounting a campaign against the poverty and social backwardness of the population, the majority of whom are landless peasants.

1979 Hafizullah Amin Killing Recounted

91UF0120A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, Nov 90 p 2

[Article by Gr. Baklanov, editor in chief of ZNAMYA: "How They Killed H. Amin"]

[Excerpt] On 27 December 1979 Hafizullah Amin had invited guests to his home. Members of the Politburo and ministers, along with their wives, had gathered for dinner. The ostensible occasion for bringing them all together was the return from Moscow of the secretary of the NDPA [National Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee, Panjsheri. But there was also

another significant reason why Amin invited his guests. He had recently moved into a luxurious palace that had been especially fixed up for the head of the party and the state. It was located on a hill at the end of Dar ul-Aman Avenue. The staff headquarters of the Kabul garrison had been housed here previously, but now this majestic castle belonged to the general secretary of the NDPA Central Committee, chairman of the revolutionary council, and leader of all Afghan workers. Amin was impatient to show his guests the opulent rooms.

The atmosphere was light and easy during dinner, the tone was set by the cordial host. When Panjsheri refused the soup, blaming it on doctor's orders, Amin joked: "In Moscow they probably spoiled you with food from the Kremlin kitchen." Panjsheri took the joke and then repeated for everyone what he had said to Amin: The Soviet leadership is satisfied with the version they had given of Taraqi's death and the change in the country's leadership. His visit strengthened relations with Moscow even more and they had confirmed that the USSR would render extensive military aid to Afghanistan.

Amin solemnly glanced around at all present: "Soviet divisions are already on their way here. I have always told you that our great neighbor would not leave us in the lurch. Everything is going wonderfully. I am in constant telephone contact with Gromyko, and together we are considering the question of how best to formulate for the world the information about the Soviet military aid being rendered to us.

After the second course the guests moved to the next hall where the tea table was set. And here something inexplicable happened. Everybody started feeling sick all at the same time: They were overcome by a terrible drowsiness. People fell into the armchairs and were literally dead to the world. The frightened servants started calling doctors—from the Soviet Embassy and the central military hospital.

The strange illness affected everyone except Panjsheri at the same time. Amin was no exception. When the doctors who had come from the Soviet Embassy washed out his stomach and brought him to his senses, he asked in surprise, having barely opened his eyes: "Why did this happen in my home? Who did this?"

Amin did not know yet that the main thing was still ahead of him. Almost all the guests who had regained consciousness went their separate ways. At 1930 hours—it was already dark—several strange explosions shook the building. The palace was engulfed by such a barrage of fire that there was no thought of individual terrorists. But what was this? A rebellion? A betrayal?

Amin tore his heavy head away from his pillow: "Give me my automatic." "Who do you want to shoot?" his wife asked. "The Soviets?"

Grenade fragments hit Amin on the other side of the upright of the bar that he had proudly shown his guests. After a couple of minutes an armed person in a military uniform but without any badges of rank came up to the body, which was no longer breathing, turned Amin over on his back, and took a photograph out of this pocket. Having made certain that he had the right one, the person without any badges of rank shot him point blank....

East Europe

Bucharest Rally Urges 'Volunteers' To Moldavia

PM0711143390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Volodin: "Bucharest in Ferment"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest—The Romanian capital has been in ferment for five days now. The "street opposition" is again regularly blocking the traffic in University Square, where the faded inscriptions "Down with communism!" and "Throw away your party cards!" have been replaced by a new slogan addressed to the prime minister: "Petre Roman, do not be a fool! Leave prices alone!" As before, there are demonstrations on the streets of Bucharest.

The unrest has been caused by the implementation of the government program for price liberalization, which began 1 November, and also the tragic events in Soviet Moldavia. Even when the street demonstrations develop into overt violence with windows broken, passers-by beaten up, and stones thrown at the president's residence, the police prefer not to intervene. [passage omitted]

Nobody in Romania today doubts that the country is experiencing grave times. Uncertainty about the future, declining discipline, corruption and open thieving are corroding Romanian society like rust, creating a nutrient medium in which forces which have not abandoned hope of provoking a government crisis and attempting to oust the country's leadership have sprung to life. Riding the wave of the crisis, Romanian nationalism, which is inclined to seek the causes of all troubles in the intrigues of internal and external enemies, has also noticeably reared its head. Thus, as a rule gypsies are accused of stealing and rioting, Transylvanian Hungarians of separatism, and the Soviet Union of causing the chronic shortages of goods.

Previously, when Romania exported certain food products to the USSR, I repeatedly heard people say: "The Russians are stealing the food out of Romanians' mouths." Now that it is prohibited to send food abroad but the food stores are still empty, people are already starting to say that all the consumer goods are being "grabbed by the Russians." The tragic events in Moldavia have provided a new pretext for the growth of anti-Soviet sentiments.

A 2,000-strong rally of solidarity with the Moldavia republic organized by the "Bucharest-Kishinev" society

and the "For Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina" association took place in Bucharest in a near-hysterical atmosphere last Sunday. To continuous chants of "Away with the border on the Prut!"; "Moscow, Bessarabia is not yours!"; and "We will fight," association chairman G. Gavrila-Copil, who spoke at the rally, called for the formation of a million-strong detachment of volunteers to cross the Prut to defend the "Romanian brothers" there. Admittedly he conceded that the volunteers would cross the border only at the request of the Moldavia government and the republic People's Front, which had a representative at the rally. The registration of volunteers began there and then, during the rally. As was noted at the rally, registration will take place outside city administration offices in all Romanian cities.

In a recent interview for Austrian television President I. Iliescu stated that Romania is concerned at the fate of Romanians living in the USSR but does not intend to raise the question of altering the borders, remaining loyal to the commitments it assumed stemming from the Helsinki Final Act. It seems, however, that his arguments do not suit those who prefer confrontation on both sides of the Romanian-Soviet border.

Economic Advisor Attacks Former Bulgarian Ties

AU0711145590 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 7 Nov 90

["Bulgaria, USSR: From "Socialist Internationalism" to Common Sense in Economic Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 7 (BTA)—The Soviet Union has been turned into a raw materials appendage of the East European countries and a vast market for their "grey production." This ruinous "family idyll" bound up with ideological oaths of "allegiance to the USSR and socialist internationalism" has corrupted the economies of the East European countries. It reinforced the irrational structure of economic management, depriving it of its most important incentive—producing prime quality output, introducing innovations and keeping pace with technological progress.

This is the assessment Mr. German Vlaskin, economic adviser at the Soviet Embassy in Sofia, made of the system of economic relations of the Soviet Union with Eastern Europe in the interview held with DUMA in connection with November 7.

From the previous period we inherited a crisis in the society, a ruined economy and stagnation in foreign economic relations, Mr. Vlaskin said. He underlined that it was necessary to reconsider Bulgaro-Soviet economic cooperation "within the context of revising the whole system of values which until recently used to determine our countries' path of development."

Now Bulgaria is the second biggest trade partner of the USSR in Eastern Europe and the Bulgarian export to the Soviet Union accounts for about 60 percent of the country's total export. The inevitable structural changes in the transition to market economy will probably reduce to a minimum the effectiveness of more that 100 bilateral and multilateral agreements on economic cooperation.

According to DUMA now, when Sofia and Moscow are exchanging charges that each is taking advantage at the expense of the other, the relations between Bulgaria and the USSR resemble "the dialogue of a divorced couple." Mr. Vlaskin noted that "the list of mutual complaints and insults is too long," but in actual fact the only ones to blame are the currency and financial system and the pricing which are still made use of. According to the Soviet expert the transition to convertible currency payments as of the beginning of next year will dot all the i's.

In his opinion the transition is not an "act of wicked will" on the part of the Soviet Union; he reminded that the decision had been taken by the partners in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The transition should be implemented in a coordinated way and in stages to mitigate all possible negative consequences, Mr. Vlaskin pointed out.

He did not say anything about the Soviet denouncement of the clearing agreement Bulgaria and the USSR reached in March this year on payments in the following few years.

East European Environmental Ministers Meet

PM0211110590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy: "From Words to Action"]

[Text] Helsinki—There has been a meeting of environment ministers from the Nordic Council countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, and Sweden), along with the USSR and representatives of Eastern Europe. The aim was to organize cooperation in environmental rescue work—particularly in the sphere of funding and technology transfer.

It is this element that I would like to stress: The peoples of the North are moving on from discussing and admonishing their geographical neighbors over the vast scale of the pollution on their territory to joint projects for which they are prepared to give material backing in view of the economic difficulties experienced by the former socialist camp.

"The idea for the present meeting emerged at the Nordic Council sitting this March in Reykjavik," Finnish Environment Minister Kaj Barlund said. "It was then decided to set up NEFCO—a northern corporation financing investment aimed at improving the state of the natural environment in Central and Eastern Europe."

The association has been founded for six years and started up in October. Its initial capital totaled $50

million. Its sphere of action embraces mainly Hungary, Poland, the CSFR, and the Soviet Union.

"The GDR was also on this list," K. Barlund pointed out, "but we now hope that mighty German capital will solve the problems on what was GDR territory."

Let us recall that the territory of the Nordic Council countries totals 1.6 million square kilometers. That is almost three times the area of France—the largest state in Europe after the USSR. However, these areas only have a population of 23 million people (300,000 square kilometers of Greenland, which comes under the protection of the Danish crown, are totally uninhabited).

Is there any need to say that the natural environment in the North is particularly afflicted? Whatever steps are taken by the peoples and governments, acid rain and other rain nullifies all the efforts. More and more black lakes are appearing on Sweden's environmental map, for instance, Lars Lindau, a specialist in aerial pollution, said.... You cannot swim or fish there....

"As for the depletion of the ozone layer, which protects us all," the scientist said, "it will, alas, continue even if all hazardous production units were shut down tomorrow...."

"Nature can withstand a temperature increase of 0.1 degrees over 10 years," Lars Lindau said, "but no more. The situation is now such that the results of man's activity take the form of this burden on the environment, a burden that it cannot cope with...."

A great deal can be said about our concern for the natural environment and "theirs." L. Lindau cited just the following fact: Over the last 10 years emissions of sulfur dioxide—the main substance that produces acid rain—have dropped 40 percent in the West, but only 10 percent in Eastern Europe.

"That is why the northern countries are ready to fund nature conservation projects outside their borders," Norway's representative Oddmund Graham explained. "The main condition being to ensure that these projects are directly in our interests too. This is not humanitarian support. We are no more selfless than anyone else. However, all the northern countries will suffer if we do not solve your problem."

So, the Nordic Council is not about to engage in philanthropy. The allocation of credits and aid with the latest technology represent an expansive gesture of friendship at the present difficult time for Eastern Europe. Loans can, after all, even be granted for 20 years!

The scale of the plan in the region has even surprised transatlantic observers. The American press writes that thousands of water purifying enterprises will have to be set up and existing ones radically restructured in order to implement the "Clean Baltic" project alone.

Many people here think that the present conference was overshadowed by news of the underground nuclear explosion in the region of Novaya Zemlya. The northern countries have already expressed their concern at the resumption of testing near their borders.

It was envisaged that the Treaty on Financing Concrete Nature Conservation Projects would be signed on the final day of the conference's work—30 October. Kaj Barlund pointed out that the fact that representatives of financial institutions and leading private companies and political decisionmakers met together for possibly the first time to resolve international environmental problems undoubtedly facilitates the prompt resolution of these questions.

CPSU Secretariat Greets Czechoslovak Party Congress

PM0711160190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat message "To 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Dear comrades!

We send you, the envoys of the Czech, Moravian, and Slovak Communists, fraternal greetings and wishes for fruitful work.

We believe that the communists in cooperation with other left-wing forces will struggle persistently for the interests of Czechoslovakia's working people.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

West Europe

Gorbachev 9 Nov Visit to Germany Previewed

'Full' Agenda, Treaty Planned

LD0811143190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Excerpt] USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the FRG starts tomorrow. Our special correspondents Viktor Levin and Aleksandr Pozharskiy are on the line now:

[Levin] The Soviet president's visit will last two days, and will be packed with talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Social Democratic Party leaders Hans-Johann Vogel and Oscar Lafontaine. Talks with the chancellor will be either tete-a-tete or among a broad circle of people, both in the Schaumburg Palace, the official residence of the head of German Government, and in the car on the way from Speyer to Deidesheim. I have counted that six full hours have been reserved for political conversations, plus exchanges of views—naturally not on the weather—during the signing of documents and official dinners.

The agenda is tight and quite full. The signing by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl of a treaty on good-neighborliness, partnership and cooperation will become the climax of the visit, its pinnacle. This treaty—we will return to it more than once for, frankly speaking it is an epoch-making document for Soviet-German relations—expresses the sides' striving to put an end to the past. And the Soviet Union and Germany wish to do this on the basis not only of the achievement of the last few years, but also on the good traditions of their century-long history. [passage omitted]

FRG Official Welcomes Visit

LD0811142990 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 8 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn November 8 TASS—Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and candidate for the post of the chancellor from this party, welcomes Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to West Germany.

His statement released here on November 7 points out that the Soviet leader's arrival in the united Germany coincides with the first anniversary of the major event in the country's history—the breakdown of the Berlin wall.

The statement says that the foreign policy pursued by Gorbachev helped make a breakthrough in the field of East European peoples' rights to self-determination and democratic development.

The Soviet president made a tangible contribution towards creating conditions for unifying the two German states and overcoming Europe's division, Lafontaine says.

Thanks to these developments, real chances have emerged to build an All-European peace order and these chances need to be used. Equitable cooperation is the basis for integrating European states in such areas as politics, economics and human rights.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany appraises the documents, which are planned to be signed during Gorbachev's visit—a treaty on good neighbourliness, partnership and cooperation and a treaty on the development of large-scale cooperation in the economy, industry, science and technology.

Social-Democrats will exert every effort for these plans to be implemented, Lafontaine says.

Soviet Deserter Rumors in Germany Downplayed

PM0811104490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 Second Edition p 7

["On The Spot" report by PRAVDA correspondent S. Zyubanov: "'Partisans' Near Berlin]

[Text] Berlin—Not only in the German tabloid press, but also in respectable magazines like DER SPIEGEL, one can see scary headlines: "700 Armed Soviet Soldiers Hiding in FRG Forests!" "Partisans in Saxony!" "Danger to German Children From Russian Deserters."

What truth is there in these assertions?—this direct question was put at a meeting between Soviet journalists and General A.I. Kozlov, first deputy chief of the Western Group of Forces political directorate, in Wuensdorf, near Berlin.

"It is total Western press baloney," he said. "Officially 72 people, not 700, are being sought at the moment. Fifteen of them have settled on the territory of what was the FRG and in West Berlin. I will cite some examples. Private Luchak, who has already been mentioned in the press, has been on the run for 35 days. During that time he has broken into more than 30 garden sheds, causing considerable material damage. Luchak recently received a conditional sentence for going absent without leave. Here is another example. Warrant Officer Babak took his family off to the West on 15 July. The investigation showed that, as depot chief, he had stolen property worth more than 10,000 rubles. Private Kuzmenko from the Ukraine suddenly left his unit in Potsdam only a week after arriving in Germany."

One would agree with the general here: Every family has a black sheep. But here is another figure which appeared in the West Berlin papers recently: Every year around 1,000 people get killed in the Western Group of Forces! Is that true?

It is clear from General A.I. Kozlov's reply that this figure was also a figment of idle hacks' imagination. Of course, people occasionally get killed in the Army. It mainly happens as a result of incompetent or careless handling of weapons or in highway accidents. After all, there are 12,000 vehicles carrying Western Group of Forces soldiers on German highways every day. There are also cases of suicide, unfortunately. But each tragic incident is carefully investigated.

"We must do battle with the gutter press' fabrications," the general says, justifiably angry.

"So why are you not doing battle?" your PRAVDA correspondent asked him. "What is stopping you refuting all this 'baloney'?"

"No one has asked us to yet," came the unexpected reply.

So there you have it. Until Moscow demands it, there will be no refutations in the local press.

Incredible though it may seem, the Western Group of Forces, and we are talking about 380,000 servicemen, does not yet have a press department or even a qualified spokesman on press matters, who might be able to help both Soviet and Western journalists rapidly establish the truth.

Since the unification of Germany the status of the Western Group of Forces has changed and the German and international media are more interested in it. But, as it happens, there is nothing to satisfy this interest, apart from "spicy facts." So you get evil rumors in the German papers. It is true that a press center has been set up under the USSR defense minister. But one does not want to have to keep calling Moscow from Berlin to find out how hundreds of thousands of Soviet servicemen are behaving and feeling.

UK Defense Cuts Planned Despite Gulf Crisis

PM0211160190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Despite the Expenditure"]

[Text] London, 31 Oct—The reductions in the British military budget announced this July will be implemented despite the unforeseen expenditure caused by the sending of British troops to the Persian Gulf. This was stated by the country's defense secretary, T. King, during a speech in Parliament. He reported that by the end of the current financial year total spending on maintaining British forces in the region will amount to 600 million pounds sterling if the situation there does not change.

The program for military spending cuts drawn up by the Ministry of Defense envisages in particular an 18-percent cut in the size of the country's Armed Forces. Moreover, it is planned to cut the number of destroyers and frigates in service with the Navy from 48 to 40, and the number of submarines from 27 to 16. It is also planned to close two of the four British Air Force bases in the FRG.

Abalkin To Attend Economic Meeting in France

LD0811061490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] In Paris today [8 November] an international meeting of economic departments of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria will take place. It will be opened by French Prime Minister Michel Rocard. The USSR is represented by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Leading Soviet economists directly engaged in work on the program for transition to a market economy are expected to participate. The Paris forum, unprecedented in its composition, will take place behind closed doors. It is devoted to an examination of ways for transition from an administrative to a market economy.

PRAVDA Interviews British KGB Agent George Blake

PM0611124590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Soviet intelligence agent George Blake by Mikhail Stepichev; place and date not given; under the rubric "Top Secret": "Faithful to His Ideals. Meeting With Intelligence Agent George Blake"]

[Text] The man who greeted me was smart in appearance with a charming smile. His gaze was immediately attractive—penetrating, sympathetic, and kind—the gaze of an intelligent man who has seen a thing or two.

Today he was giving his first interview to a Soviet journalist.

"Let us begin with ancient history," my interlocutor suggested. "It was in the mid-fifties, at the height of the 'cold war'..."

Secret Battle Beneath Berlin

They were the busiest of days for Blake. He was a staffer of British intelligence—the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS)—and had already also become established as a KGB agent, and important reports were awaited from him in our country: The world was on the brink of war. The West had thrown all the forces of its secret intelligence agents against the Soviet land and its allies, and George had to reveal the secrets to the best of his abilities and destroy the hostile schemes.

Blake had become a Soviet agent out of ideological conviction and acted in the name of peace and the interests of the motherland of October. He was committed heart and mind to this duty and sent extremely valuable information to Moscow. The biggest act of his work at this period was the exposure of the operation mounted by British and U.S. intelligence in a tunnel beneath Berlin.

In the light of existing "tunnel" experience of sabotage in Vienna, Peter Lunn, head of the SIS Berlin residency, suggested the idea of tapping into the Soviet telephone cables linking the GDR with Moscow under the earth. Full of hope, Lunn flew to London for a secret meeting with SIS and CIA representatives.

Blake too was at the meeting and took its minutes. When everyone had left the room, he took the copies of the drawings and the plan for the operation, went to his office, and photographed them.

In the evening he met with his contact, who swiftly appreciated the special importance of the documents and delivered them to the Center the very next day. It was decided to allow the operation planned by the SIS and the CIA to continue, but the most secret conversations between Moscow and the GDR would be conducted via other telephone lines. Disinformation would sometimes be relayed along the line tapped by Western intelligence agencies.

Things continued in this way for a year. London was receiving a truly great amount of information. Hundreds of staffers were processing it, little suspecting that the KGB knew about everything and that much of the material had been specially prepared.

"I was extremely worried at the time, of course," Blake admits today. "But in time I got used to it. I soon returned to Berlin and saw how people at the SIS residency were proud of their 'baby' and regarded the 'tunnel' as a major victory."

But one day Soviet communications personnel, repairing a cable, stumbled across the tunnel apparently by chance. They followed it and ended up in the American sector. At the exit they were met by CIA staffers.

The Soviet military held a press conference. They showed journalists that the tunnel led to the American zone. It was a violation of the accords among the allies.

"The Time Summoned Me"

"With the passage of time you can more clearly see the world in motion," George Blake remarks. "If I had to begin my life all over again, I would travel the same road. Intelligence was a strict necessity for me, the time itself summoned me to serve socialist ideals."

Smoothing the deep furrows on his brow and stroking his beard flecked with gray, he recalls gentle Holland, where he was born, and his childhood. He rarely saw his father, who was at work the whole day. The boy spent all his time with his mother. The boy's first book was a children's Bible. His imagination was filled with biblical heroes.

At the age of 12, when his father died, the boy was sent to rich relatives in Egypt. He studied English and French at the Cairo gymnasium. At the start of World War II Blake found himself back in Holland. And the youth joined the ranks of the Resistance. In a couple of years he managed to flee from occupied Holland to Britain, crossing Belgium, France, and Spain. He was detained more than once and spent time in jail. At last he reached Britain and soon joined the Royal Navy.

Blake was trained to sail in 2- or 3-man miniature submarines. These were supposed to penetrate enemy harbors and blow up the ships there. It was incredibly difficult service. Once during tests he lost consciousness under water. His comrades hauled him to the surface with a rope.

After a while Blake was sent to London. They spent a long time studying him and talking with him, and at long last they announced: You are going to work for the SIS.

While he was working for the intelligence agency George at the same time studied the Russian language and Russian history and literature. The studies broadened his horizons. He remembers his conversations with the lecturer Elizabeth Hill. Her mother was Russian. She spoke with love of Russia, its culture and history, and Soviet people's courage. So they would know their enemy (that is, the Russians), Blake and his service colleagues were given Professor Hunt's textbook "The Theory and Practice of Communism."

"When we read it," Blake recalls, "we saw that the goals of the communist system were not so bad, and even were noble and attractive...."

At the end of 1948 Blake was sent to Korea as a resident. Later, when hostilities began between North and South and British troops entered the war, the British envoy, his staffers, and the intelligence resident were taken prisoner. They were taken to the North. Blake tried to escape, but he was caught....

One time the British captives were brought books from Pyongyang. They included K. Marx's "Capital" and V. Lenin's "The State and Revolution" in Russian. The envoy asked Blake to read them aloud and translate. Then there were long arguments. This was how he came to study the most important works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, which brought about literally a breakthrough in his consciousness.

"I pondered increasingly often what to do next," Blake recounts. "The answer dawned on me: not to hamper, but to help in every possible way to build a new society in Soviet Russia and other countries. That was clear. But how? I decided to contact Chekists [KGB officers] and I told them of my wish to work for the Soviet land. And from my first meetings with them I stated that I did not want any privileges, rewards, or early return from captivity. They agreed. Thus during my work for Soviet intelligence I did not receive a penny and I returned from captivity to Britain, like everyone, two years later when the armistice was concluded...."

"His story is gripping"—you often see those words in British papers now. Especially since the publication in the West of Blake's book "No Other Choice." Incidentally, it will be published from January 1991 in our country in the journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA.

George Blake was an active agent of the USSR KGB for 10 years. During this time, like Kim Philby, he served in the British SIS. At that time Western intelligence agencies exploited every opportunity to send agents into the USSR and its allied countries. Moreover, the SIS residencies in the socialist countries recruited citizens of these countries in the interests of British intelligence.

Blake disclosed the names of such people even before they had become SIS agents, that is, before they began to work for the British, and the KGB took appropriate measures to counter British intelligence.

The SIS instructed Blake to recruit agents among Soviet citizens. Blake had the reputation of a "brilliant operator." If London had only known what kind of cadres he was supplying to the SIS!

People still speak of operation "Boris." Boris, a Soviet economist and CEMA staffer, was brought to Blake in Berlin—by a highly complex route. Who was he? Only the Center and Blake knew. At their meeting George said

that he wanted to buy caviar, and Boris that he wanted to swap caviar for a watch. They began to cooperate.

People in London said: Blake is a good SIS operator, a high-ranking Soviet functionary is working as an agent for him. Reports came in from Boris about the economy of the Soviet Union and CEMA. His Western clients did not know that they were being supplied with disinformation skillfully prepared by the Chekists. And a new agent [or "the new agent"—novyy agent] placed in the SIS simultaneously relayed very important information from London. After a few years the operation involving Boris came to an end. But that was at a time when the stormclouds were already gathering over Blake. Although he had not made a single false move.

Blake spent the last six months before his arrest in the Near East. His family was there. At the theater, apparently by chance, he met Nicholas Elliot, the SIS Beirut resident. In conversation Elliot remarked in passing:

"London wants you to go there for a couple of days."

"Why?" Blake asked.

"To discuss a new appointment...."

George sensed danger. His contact, to whom he turned for advice, said that there were no grounds for concern....

Forty-Two Years' Imprisonment

The decision to stay proved fateful. They were waiting for Blake in London, but not to appoint him to a new post: Interrogations began immediately. They failed. Toward evening he was allowed merely to go to his mother's. Blake swiftly "grasped" the situation: The investigators thought he would certainly go to see his KGB boss. But he did not do so, and in the morning George again appeared at the agency....

A month later came the trial. His defense attorney tried to persuade him to say that he deeply regretted what he had done. But George Blake replied: "What I did was right."

"How did you greet the court's verdict?" I asked.

"Forty-two years' imprisonment.... It was hard to grasp at the time. It sounded very abstract somehow...."

Sitting in jail, George Blake firmly decided to escape to freedom and began preparing to escape. He often had trusting talks in jail with Gordon Longsdale [surname as published], a talented Soviet intelligence agent sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. Gordon had an optimistic view of life and offered encouragement when he met with Blake: "We will certainly watch the big parade on Red Square marking the 50th anniversary of October together."

"That's fantasy!" Blake replied.

But Longsdale proved a good prophet. He was exchanged for the British spy G. Wynn, and Blake began to prepare with increasing determination to make his escape.

In the fall of 1966 Blake escaped from jail. True, when he was climbing down from the prison wall he fell and broke his hand. But he overcame everything, with help from his friends, activists from the British movement against nuclear weapons who regarded a 42-year term of imprisonment as unworthy of a civilized country. His escape caused a great sensation. The press conjectured about how it had happened. But shock really gripped the British special services when they learned that Blake was in the Soviet Union.

Yes, they greeted the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution on Red Square in Moscow. Admittedly, his friend was now called not Gordon Longsdale but Konon Trofimovich Molodyy.

His second homeland welcomed Blake. The period of adaptation to life in Moscow passed quite swiftly.

"It was superb to be free at last," George remarks, "to wake up in the morning and do what I liked and walk anywhere I chose. I was given an apartment and a car. I began to work at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations. It is an interesting job, and I am now busier than usual, because I specialize in the Near East."

The outstanding Soviet intelligence agent has been awarded the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red Banner, the Order of the Patriotic War First Class, and other awards for his services to our state. He receives a pension.

Concluding the conversation, Blake says that he is faithful to his ideals, which determined his attitude toward the USSR. Both in joy and in difficult days he will always be with those who are building the society of humane, democratic socialism.

Latin America & Caribbean

Trade Prospects Create Uncertainty in Cuba

PM0711122590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kamorin: "Features of the Special Period"]

[Excerpts] Havana—"We must save the motherland, save the revolution, save socialism!"—this was the task that Fidel Castro set for Cubans in one of his recent speeches. It has to be said that this is not the first time the slogan "The fatherland in danger" has been heard in Cuba in the last 30 years, but previously it was always linked with the intriguing "Number one enemy"—the United States. On this occasion, Cubans believe, the threat is from completely the opposite direction—namely from us.

The term "special period in peacetime" was first heard in January this year. Then, speaking at a trade union congress, F. Castro warned that the headlong changes in the East European countries and the USSR, which account for over 80 percent of Cuban foreign trade turnover, could lead to the destabilization of the island's economy. At that time the "special period," which means a state of emergency in the economic sphere, was interpreted more as a theoretical concept "for an extreme contingency." But only a few months passed and, despite the fact that it has not been officially introduced, the "special period" has become a reality affecting the lives of every citizen of the country to a greater or lesser extent. [passage omitted]

Has the economic situation in Cuba already reached a situation where it is a question of needing to toughen up the emergency measures? Not yet, apparently. Supplies to Cuba from the Soviet Union, including of such vitally important commodities as fuel and food, are continuing, albeit not without considerable delay and difficulty. But for our bilateral relations 31 December—the end of the year and the five-year plan period—has become a point beyond which any prospects vanish in a fog of uncertainty. To this day it is unclear what we will be trading with Cuba in 1991 and in what quantities. If you add to this the problem of making the transition to transactions in freely convertible currency at world prices—a transition which could be particularly painful for this country—you can understand the anxiety felt by the Cuban authorities, who have decided to adopt a number of preventive measures.

Our country, the island's main supplier—for a number of most important commodities its sole supplier—is continuing to "hold fire" in the dialogue about the future of bilateral ties. Some of my interlocutors admitted: "Even if we only knew that we have to prepare for the worst, that there will be no more supplies at all, it would be easier for us...."?

Might it be time for the Soviet foreign trade leadership to sort out what we can do if only in the immediate future and stop keeping the 11-million-strong people of this distant country in a state of ignorance?

Cuba Denies Talks With 'Counterrevolutionaries'

PM0611162390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent A. Moiseyev: "Cuban Foreign Ministry Explanations"]

[Text] Havana, 4 Nov—Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Relations has categorically denied reports that have appeared in the world press about a dialogue between the authorities and representatives of counterrevolutionary organizations.

At a news conference for foreign journalists organized in Havana by the foreign policy department's press office it was declared that: The reports being disseminated by certain news agencies about talks having been started between Cuban Government representatives and counterrevolutionary organizations do not correspond to the facts.

It can be assumed that the rumors about the supposed contacts between the authorities and the Cuban opposition appeared after the recent interviews of Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers, by the Argentinian newspaper PAGINA 12 and a Havana radio station, in which the theme of Cuban counterrevolutionary and emigrant groups in Miami was broached. Evidently, this was interpreted by certain Western correspondents as a willingness by the island's official circles to hold talks with the counterrevolutionary opposition. A Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations representative also explained at the news conference that the word counterrevolutionaries should be taken to mean people actively opposing the existing regime on Cuba.

Cuban Defector Describes Reasons for Flight

PM0811103190 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 44, 11-18 Nov p 13

[Interview with Rafael del Pino, former deputy commander of the Cuban Air Force, by Aleksandr Makhov in Virginia; date not given: "Castro Is the Caribbean's Saddam Husayn"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Washington—During the past three years the name of Cuban General Rafael del Pino has hardly been mentioned in the Soviet press. Prior to that time, many rapturous reports were dedicated to him: a Bay of Pigs hero who brought down an American B-26 bomber, that country's best pilot, a real communist. During the hours when Mathias Rust was heading his aircraft towards Moscow's Red Square, General del Pino, piloting a similar plane, illegally flew to Florida. This was followed by the general's sensational interviews published all over the world, save the USSR.

Now he lives somewhere on the Atlantic coast of the USA, hiding from Cuban intelligence agents. During the past three years Rafael de Pino avoided Soviet journalists, probably for the same reason of personal safety. But finally the general granted a short interview. At the airport in Washington Del Pino's people put me in a car. After driving for some time, we changed cars—just in case—and headed for Virginia. We drove into the underground garage of a hotel and went up in the elevator. The man who accompanied me used his key to open a hotel room, in the depth of which del Pino and his bodyguard stood in strained postures. Our conversation lasted for more than an hour, and I will just cite the most interesting parts from it. I think readers will be able to draw their own conclusions.

[Del Pino] Many of my enemies say that I defected because I wanted to live in affluence. This is not true. You understand, for one thing, I was a national hero, and

secondly, as Deputy Commander of the Air Force, I belonged to the country's elite, so that every conceivable and inconceivable privilege extended to me. You yourself understand what that means. I sincerely believed in socialism in the 1960's, but the farther we went the more clearly I saw that the society in which we lived was rapidly rolling into an impasse. Total economic dislocation screened by ideological propaganda, the people's poverty against the background of the upper crust's luxury, the militarization of every sphere of life (considering that Cuban intelligence constantly reported that there was no military threat whatsoever from the outside). Lastly, the absolute power of one man whose every extravagance is being sanctified by Marxist theory. At first I thought that these were the costs of the transitional period, but then even these illusions vanished. Incidentally, the last straw which helped me to decide to defect was my trip to the USSR. In April 1987 I headed a Cuban delegation for exercises on a missile proving range near Astrakhan. I had visited your country on repeated occasions, but I had never gone so far into its depth. There I saw dying-out villages with dilapidated slanting huts, old women wading knee-deep in mud with buckets on their shoulders. I kind of peeped into Cuba's 'radiant future'. But perestroyka had already commenced in your country, whereas any abolition of Stalinism in Cuba was out of the question. On returning home, I decided to quit the socialist world. But how? "Rafael, unlike us, you have wings," a friend of mine, who was a colonel, told me. I put my family into a plane and flew to Florida.

[Makhov] Judging by what you just said, in the Cuban army there are forces which do not support the Castro regime?

[Del Pino] The absolute majority of officers, to say nothing of the other ranks, live in appalling conditions, without any privileges. Of course, there are also those who continue to believe in myths. But, you know, when MiG planes fly at zero altitude to scare up the ducks to make it easier for party bosses to hunt, the number of those believing in socialism dwindles catastrophically. Yet you should remember that the army is ruled by terror, especially heated up by the so-called case of General Ochoa.

[Makhov] Incidentally, about the Ochoa case. A year ago the Soviet press retold in detail the official Cuban version of how the general had got involved in drug trafficking, for which he was justifiably punished, i.e., shot by a firing squad.

[Del Pino] General Ochoa, is the same victim as Marshal Tukhachevskiy. In Cuba he was considered a hero, enjoyed immense prestige among the people and could afford making independent statements—even though this is a grave crime. He became dangerous for Castro and was destroyed at the first opportunity. Was he personally involved in drug trafficking? I do not know. But I know something else for sure; the whole of the Cuban upper crust, including its top echelon, is linked to drug trafficking. Cuba has a sophisticated network of air defences and enemy aircraft warning- and-control systems. It is naive to believe that the country's top leadership was unaware of the mafia's "air corridor", which Ochoa is accused of creating. This is impossible under the totalitarian regime. From Raul Castro's department I myself repeatedly received orders roughly to the following effect: tomorrow, at two p.m., do not intercept the flight of any object towards the north.

[Makhov] Now, at the time of the Persian Gulf crisis, you often call Castro a Saddam Husayn of the Caribbean. When such parallels [as published].

[Del Pino] In virtue of my service position in 1983 (at the time of the Grenada events) I happened to witness the following episode. Castro issued a secret order to Major Eduardo Gonsalez, commander of the MiG-23 squadron, that the latter feed the coordinates of the Turkey Point nuclear power plant in Florida into these bombers' computers. Eduardo arrived at the air base, being extremely disturbed. All military pilots loved me and treated me as their father. "What happened, Eduardo?" I asked. He told me about the order. Through my own channels I managed to find out that, indeed, there was the following plan: If the Grenada crisis continued to deepen, while the Soviet Union refused to interfere in it, it was proposed that an American nuclear power plant be bombed, just to provoke the largest possible military conflict between the two superpowers. But what guarantees do we have that everything will be OK in the future? Castro's position on the island is deteriorating with each passing day. I do not rule out that, on seeing the hopelessness of his stance, Fidel will once again return to the previous plan in order to die a martyr in the eyes of his compatriots.

Political & Social

Gorbachev GOSR Anniversary Address

LD0711081490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Address by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Red Square, Moscow, marking the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—live]

[Text] Dear compatriots. Dear Muscovites. Servicemen of the armed forces.

I am addressing holiday greetings to all of you from Red Square in Moscow. In a few minutes' time, a military parade will take place here, and then there will be a festive demonstration by working people of the capital devoted to the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Every historic event has its own destiny. Some fade into the past forever and lose their significance for descendants. Others, on the contrary, leave a profound and indelible trace in the people's lives. Our October is such. This very great revolution of the 20th century is unparalleled in its scale and influence upon the destiny of people. The values by which the socialist revolution carried along the masses are imperishable. They have their roots in the depths of the consciousness of the man of labor. Freedom, equality, and justice have been embodied in the slogans of that time. Factories for the workers, land to the peasants, peace to peoples, self-determination to nations. Today we recall with gratitude those who went into the revolution with a clear conscience and courageously carried its banner.

Let us pay tribute to our grandfathers, fathers and mothers, to the millions of Soviet people by whose self-sacrificing labor and selfless courage the fatherland has lived and was built; to those who stood to the death against fascism, who gained victory in the most bloody war and defended the independence of their own country and other states. Let us today not pass over the memory of those of our compatriots who, although innocent, were deprived of their honor, dignity, and life itself. That terrible lesson should serve as an eternal warning that correct ends must never be attained through incorrect means. Human rights and respect for human dignity must be accorded the highest place in society.

We are the heirs of those who embarked upon the revolution and selflessly strove to realize its ideals. We cannot permit ourselves to belittle our ancestors by forgetting them, and all the more so, by an unjust verdict on them. It is not the fault of past generations that the goals they dreamed of were not achieved, that the ideals that raised people to storm the old order were later seriously distorted. We evaluate our history with the utmost honesty, but how can we fail to judge harshly all that is connected with the Stalin era, with the distortion of socialist ideas? This cannot and should not push into the background what the minds and the hands of the people have achieved over the last three quarters of a century.

Our attitude toward the past is now expressed not only in words. We have made a decisive break with falsehood and injustice. We have tried to see and to understand things in their true light. We have made a sharp turn toward the sovereignty of the people, toward economic freedom, toward the law-governed state, and toward a civil society. With a solid foundation we call perestroyka a new revolution. Its purpose is to set the person free; to overcome his alienation from ownership, from power, and from culture; and to assert the inherent value of human life and personality. Freedom and democracy, the rights of the citizen, the sovereignty and the self-government of the people, material prosperity according to the results of one's own labor, health care and education at a present- day level available to all, concern for old age and childhood, the protection of nature, the preservation and enhancement of culture and national traditions, and the mastery of all achievements of world civilisation, all of this is included within the socialist idea in the way it is understood in the present day.

At the same time, it is also the revival of the valucs of October at the present stage of the history of the fatherland and of the world. The historical turnabout begun by the initiative of the party of communists was understood and adopted by the people.

Recently, the country has acquired a new look. Real power of the people, freedom of thought and action, the active involvement of millions of people in deciding the vital questions of the life of society have become the irreversible achievement of perestroyka.

Perestroyka has dealt a crippling blow to the totalitarian and command and bureaucratic system that has been fettering society, stifling people's initiative. But the process of renewal has turned out to be much more painful and dramatic than could have been supposed.

Today we are all deeply alarmed at the ill-provision of life, the shortages, lines, high prices, the weakening of law and order. We are pained by ethnic strife.

But one should not give way to panic, or even less call for turning back the clock. Free people are able to do anything. They will overcome any difficulties. For that, we need first of all today to make full use of the possibilities inherent in democracy, to introduce strict social order founded upon conscience, and to strengthen legality and state discipline at all levels.

Perestroyka is an intensive and profound political process that is taking place in a complex and dramatic way. In essence, a new structure of power is being built from scratch in the union, in the republics, and locally in an atmosphere of tempestuous politicization. The guarantee of success lies in engaging the political creativity of every person, involving the entire people. Working

together actively, we must overcome the weaknesses of the new executive authorities and ensure that they function effectively.

We are on the threshold of the conclusion of a new union treaty, which is of immense significance for the transformation of our multiethnic state. Thus will be resolved the task of the self- determination and self-government of all peoples, of the development and strengthening of their future cooperation in the renewed union.

We see the renaissance of all the Soviet republics not on the road of isolation and alienation but on the road of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. Every people should make its inimitable contribution to the renewal of our multiethnic fatherland. The role and responsibility of the Russian people, of the whole of Russia, is a unique one in this great matter.

We have everything we need to achieve success by moving further along the path we have mapped out. The country has literally inexhaustible natural resources. Our people are not lacking in assiduousness and talent. We now have at our disposal a well thought out program for stabilization of the situation in the national economy and for transition to a market economy. We will manage to achieve the aims we have set if we rise above discord and, through common efforts and selfless work, we implement the measures that have been set out in the economy and in politics, and restore respect for the law.

At the hour of trial every true patriot must cast aside everything that is petty and superficial and imbue himself with an awareness of his responsibility for the fate of the motherland. I believe in the reason of the people. The people's common sense and sense of responsibility will inevitably prevail.

Our perestroyka has been received with enormous sympathy abroad. The peoples and governments of many countries sincerely support the goals that we have proclaimed. Acting in the spirit of the new thinking, along with other countries, we have stopped the slide toward nuclear catastrophe literally at the edge of the abyss. The Cold War is fading into the past and we, in cooperation with the international community, are prepared to do everything so that mankind enters into a new, peaceful phase of development. And we see our role and our responsibility in this very great and historic turning point.

Dear comrades, while marking the latest October anniversary, we clearly understand that what has been achieved by history is irreversible. And just as important is an understanding that errors and mistakes can be corrected if they are acknowledged, if the proper lessons are drawn from them. May today's holiday be a reminder of those lofty and noble aims for the sake of which our fathers and grandfathers stormed the Winter Palace. May it prompt each of us to reflect once again, calmly and honestly, upon what has been done and what lies ahead. May it help us to arrive at civic peace and accord, tolerance, and creativity.

Today we have a real chance, through the second great revolution, to transform our society into a normal, healthy, just and, in the final analysis, prosperous one. In terms of ideals, this is what Vladimir Ilich Lenin's aim was. In order to succeed, we need a rallying of democratic forces, firmness with regard to any extremist designs, and the honest cooperation of all sincere proponents of perestroyka.

A happy holiday to all of you, dear comrades! May it strengthen us in our aspiration to do everything we can for the sake of revival of the motherland, and to advance along the road of socialist renewal.

Shevardnadze Comments on Shooting Incident

LD0811074190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 8 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Korotkov, Konstantin Voytsekhovich, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Nov (TASS)—USSR Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today categorically rejected claims that yesterday's incident on Red Square during the festive demonstration allegedly testified to the Soviet public's loss of confidence in perestroyka.

As already reported, on Red Square on 7 November two shots were fired into the air. They were fired by a 38-year-old Leningrad man with a sawed-off shotgun. There were no casualties.

Answering journalists' questions before the start of his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Eduard Shevardnadze said: "I do not think there is anything serious behind this incident. In such a huge country, something will always happen somewhere."

Moscow TV Shows GOSR Parade

LD0711163890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0655 GMT on 7 November carries a live, 123-minute relay from Moscow's Red Square of the festivities marking the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR].

The relay opens with shots of Moscow while military commands are heard being issued. The television announcer says that all television stations are covering the event. The cameras then show the Lenin Mausoleum and crowds in Red Square.

At 0658 GMT, Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Ryzhkov, Yeltsin, Silayev, other members of the Presidential Council, and other officials are seen mounting the mausoleum. At 0700 GMT, the clock on Spasskiy Tower is shown and a military band begins its fanfare as the chimes sound.

After the fanfare, Gorbachev delivers a 13-minute speech.

At 0713 GMT the national anthem is played while cannon fire is heard. At 0714 GMT, Lukyanov, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Yeltsin, Popov, and military officials are seen on the mausoleum. At 0716 GMT a limousine carrying Defense Minister Yazov is seen arriving as a band plays. He is received by Colonel General Kalinin, commander of the Moscow garrison. Both officials are seen being driven to greet the troops.

At this time, the studio announcer says: "The present parade, the 120th, does not have the purpose of demonstrating the military might of the armed forces, and it is not a departmental event. It is being held not on the orders of the defense minister but by a decree of the country's president, and serves to continue an ancient tradition originating from the times of Peter [the Great] and [General] Suvorov."

As Yazov and Kalinin continue to inspect the troops, the studio announcer says at 0720 GMT: "As a part of Soviet society, the armed forces are currently going through a difficult period. Following a reduction in personnel of 500,000 and the elimination of two classes of missile, fresh changes are expected in the structure and training of types and branches of the forces. There will be a continuation in the reduction of military units and scientific research establishments, and in the withdrawal of our forces from the countries of Eastern Europe. Of course, these processes are not proceeding painlessly. The problems of finding housing and work for servicemen, and their social and legal protection, are becoming aggravated. The political organs, which are undergoing a transformation and are now ceasing to be the leading organs of the CPSU in the army and navy, are involving themselves in the resolution of these tasks. All of this is only part of the most complex issues requiring a solution."

At 0722 GMT, the studio announcer says that Yazov and Kalinin are going to Manezh Square. Limousines are seen driving past the troops and crowds. At 0724 GMT, the announcer says that Yazov and Kalinin have completed their inspection. At 0726 GMT, the military march-past begins, headed by drummers from the Moscow Military College of Music, followed by others from the Frunze Military Academy.

At 0730 GMT, troops from the Lenin Military Political Academy march past, followed in turn by troops from the Dzerzhinskiy Academy, the MSU Malinovskiy Armored Troops Academy, the Gagarin Air Force Academy, and the Zhukovskiy Air Force Engineering Academy. Then Leningrad Dzerzhinskiy Higher Institute of Engineering represents the navy. Air assault troops follow and then troops from the Moscow Border Troops College, a Dzerzhinskiy division, Suvorov and Nakhimov cadets, and cadets of the Moscow Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Combined Forces College.

This portion of the march-past ends at 0739 GMT.

At 0740 GMT the combined bands move to the edge of the square to make room for the "mechanized column". The first to enter the Red Square from around the Historical Museum are "fighting vehicles of the Taman Guards Division." Several UAZ469b jeeps carrying the formation's color parties are followed by 21 BTR-80 APCs and then by 21 BMP-2 APCs.

Next to come are at about 24 BMD-2 airborne combat vehicles, which are announced as "subunits of the airborne troops in airborne combat vehicles" just as they go off camera.

The "tanks of the famous Kantemir Guards Tank Division" are seen to consist of 25 T-80 tanks and at about 20 of what appear to be T-80's with short dozer blades underslung at the front.

More color parties aboard UAZ jeeps lead about 10 SO-120 Anona (2S9) self-propelled howitzer/mortars into the square. These are followed by 12 SO-122 Gvozdika (2S1) self- propelled howitzers and then by about 10 SO-152 Akatsiya (2S3) self- propelled gun/howitzers. About 12 BM-21 multiple rocket launchers and several BM-22 multiple rocket launchers "close the artillery column."

"Anti-air defense subunits are entering the Red Square," the announcer says. Another group of UAZ-mounted color parties precede 12 SA-8B Gecko mobile surface-to-air missile systems and nine SA-10 Grumble mobile surface-to-air missile systems.

More color parties separate the anti-air weapons from a formation of nine SS-21 Scarab battlefield support missiles. Next and last in the "mechanized column" come nine SS-25 Sickle ICBMs on their seven- axle transporter-erector-launcher vehicles. According to the announcer, "the engine power of such a missile is no less than the power of a major power station. It is capable of delivering to its target, at more than 20,000 km/h, a nuclear payload more powerful than all the bombs and shells that exploded during the last war, apart from the nuclear ones. It's a terrible weapon. But at present the question of destroying 50 percent of the missiles of this kind is being resolved."

The parade is concluded with a march past by the combined military bands.

A notable detail of the military equipment used in this year's GOSR parade was its color scheme. Whereas in previous years all hardware used to be painted "army green" with various elements, such as engine grilles, wheel hubs and rims, skirts, and mudgards picked out or edged in white, this year all equipment appeared in the Red Square in a sand-green-black camouflage patching.

Yazov is then shown with the other leaders on the Mausoleum. Shots of the crowd follow as the band continues to march across the square.

At 0749 GMT the leaders leave the mausoleum. The announcer says they are going to head a Muscovites'

march across the square. They are shown in a group walking across the square, waving, as the band continues to play. The leaders join a group of people at the end of the square. The group sets off across the square, followed by a larger group carrying banners. The announcer says that in the front ranks are leaders of the CPSU and other public organizations.

Leading the march, from left to right are: Nishanov, Lukyanov, Prokofyev, Ryzhkov, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Popov, and Silayev.

At 0755 GMT an announcer on the red square says fresh flowers are being laid at the Lenin mausoleum. Leaders take off their hats as they approach the tomb. Solemn music from Tchaikovsky's fifth symphony is played. Leaders bow to the tomb, redon their hats and remount the mausoleum. They retake their positions on the mausoleum.

At 0758 GMT an announcer says the first columns of the demonstration by Muscovites begin their march past. People bearing banners and balloons walks across the square, the banners bearing the names of rayons of the capital. Leaders wave to the marchers. Some banners say: "No to interethnic strife"! and "Lenin is with us"!

Crowds continue to walk across the square, carrying red banners. The announcer notes international support for perestroyka, and its achievements. People continue marching past, carrying banners, balloons, children. Leaders are shown waving; they have now been joined by some of their wives. Close-ups of Gorbachev, Popov, Silayev, and Yeltsin are shown waving from the rostrum. The announcer notes the significance of the transition to a market economy.

At 0808 GMT the Muscovites' march past continues. The announcer says the initiators of today's demonstration were the city's communists. One of the banners reads: "No to lowering of living standards"! Another reads: "Long live the GOSR"!

At 0811 GMT the announcer comments on interethnic relations, noting the good aspects—revival of national pride—and also the bad aspects—bloodshed. He notes the need for hamonization of interethnic relations, and the need for a new union treaty.

At 0813 GMT people continue to march past the mausoleum. The announcer reads out slogans. Gorbachev waves to the crowd.

The announcer says subsequent reports will be from the capital and from other regions of the country. The relay ends at 0814 GMT, and is followed by a concert.

Moscow Broadcasts Limit Celebration Coverage

LD0711075690

[Editorial Report] At 0700 GMT on 7 November, Moscow Domestic Service in Russian was linked to Moscow Television Service in Russian for coverage of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech marking the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, GOSR. Moscow Domestic Service resumed its "Panorama" program at 0715 GMT after Gorbachev's 13-minute speech.

Moscow World Service in English, unlike previous years, carried no live commentary on the GOSR revolution anniversary parade on Red Square, but is maintaining its normal programming for the 0700-0730 GMT time frame with a 10-minute news bulletin and the 20-minute "Focus on Asia" feature.

Alternative Rally Held on Red Square

LD0711200790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Korshunov on alternative demonstration on Red Square in Moscow on 7 November]

[Text] This demonstration could be described as alternative in the full meaning of the word since those who participated in it were not marking the anniversary of the October Revolution but a day of mourning for those innocent persons who died, a day of struggle for human rights and for civil national concord. A large group of union and Russian people's deputies, specifically Gdlyan, Andronov, Luchinskiy, Surkov, and Ambartsumyan, and some public figures who have become particularly known to the broad public over the last 12 or 18 months, such as Tatyana Koryagina and Vitaliy Urazhtsev, leader of the Shield organization, participated. The alternative demonstration started at two places, from the square of the Belorussian train station and from Vosstaniya Square on the Sadovoye Ring Road. I was in the latter parade. According to a well-known proverb, it is better to see once than to hear many times, but since it is impossible to see on the radio I think you could listen to the slogans that were read to grasp the entire atmosphere of the demonstration.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] President, Supreme Soviet and Government, resign! [noises of approval from the crowd and shouts "Down with them!"]

[Unidentified Woman] Down with the Yazovs, Lukashevs, and Vlasovs! Prosecute them!

[Second unidentified man] Down with military gorillas!

[Korshunov] Who are you calling military gorillas?

[Second man] Those who hinder democracy from developing! [end recording]

Here are some of the other slogans: Russians, unite around the Russian Supreme Soviet!; A yellow and white picture depicting a locomotive with warped wheels and the heading: USSR, the railroad tracks lead into an abyss! and a caption below reading: Our locomotive is

dashing forward! Yet another slogan: Who will defend perestroyka from its architects?

Having merged, both columns passed along Red Square and then returned to Manezh Square where a rally was held. Here is what Yuriy Luchinskiy, people's deputy, said at the rally:

[Begin Luchinskiy recording] What force can the people use to oppose the armed force of the iniquitous communist power? Only the armed force of a new republican army that is being created. [cheers from the crowd] The Shchit Union proposes that it be headed by Tatyana Ivanovna Koryagina, the fiery Russian deputy. Only the force that the government of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Silayev will muster in order to limit the CPSU's complete sway. [end recording]

I must mention that this mood, perhaps, prevailed at today's rally. After the demonstration I interviewed Vitaliy Urazhtsev, leader of the Shchit union, who headed the second column of demonstrators:

[Begin recording] [Urazhtsev] We are not happy about the work of the militia who, as on the previous occasion on 1 May, did everything possible to split our ranks. Our columns could have been considerably more numerous if the metro stations had not been closed and if we had been led along the streets where we gathered. Moreover, Comrade (Gennadiy Nikolayevich Feklichev), one of the heads of the Militia Directorate, gave instructions to start moving 30 minutes ahead of time. I had to stop the columbn. We had not communicated with the parallel column led by (Nikolay Grigoryevich Promakhov) and Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan. All my demands to link up with the leaders of the column were to no avail. I think that was a provocation and I am convinced that in this case the militia, at least in our part of the column, did everything possible to muddle the situation we found ourselves in.

[Korshunov] When the column was approaching Red Square I saw the flags of the (Votan) Tatar movement, flags of Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Russian flags, and those of the Ukraine. You have spoken about the unity, meanwhile slogans read: Freedom to Karabakh!, and Freedom to Republics! Is there any contradiction there, since we have put forward some single universally democratic task? We move together but in different directions.

[Urazhtsev] This contradiction is an objective fact of our society's life. These contradictions are real and it would be stupid not to see them. At the same time we think that we have been elected by our electors and have becme deputies in order to solve these contradictions in a civilized way. [end recording]

Rally Detailed

PM0811105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 90 Union Edition p 1,2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondents I. Andreyev, V. Belikov, N. Burbyga, F. Ivanov, V. Korneyev, V. Litovkin, and V. Reshetnikov: "Red Square, 7 November"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Candle flames glimmered throughout the cold November night on the capital's Lubyanka Square by the "Solovetskiy Stone" memorial and the pile of flowers laid there by people in mournful silence grew and grew. With the coming of morning an improvised rostrum appeared on New Square outside the Polytechnical Museum. A rally was held there.

It was organized by the Moscow Voters' Association, the "Democratic Russia" organizational committee, the Social Democratic Party of Russia, and the "Democratic Platform" (non-CPSU).

Most of the people's deputies and activists from the public movements and newly-formed parties who spoke at the rally pinned their hopes and plans on the revival of Russia and the establishment of its state and economic sovereignty.

A gilded orthodox cross was raised aloft and after the rally the entire gathering followed it in a huge convoy down Maroseyka (that is now the new name of B. Khmelnitskiy Street) toward Sadovoye Koltso, to the house where Academician A. Sakharov lived. A requiem for "all those who died during the regime years" was held there. It was celebrated by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Father G. Yakunin. [passage omitted]

Moscow TV Show Alternative Rally Slogans

LD0711192490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1550 GMT on 7 November carries a 34-minute video report by an unidentified announcer on how Moscow celebrated the Great October Socialist Revolution 73d anniversary.

The video shows official celebrations in Red square today.

The focus is entirely on the people and workers taking part from various rayons in the capital and elsewhere. No military hardware is shown. There are shots of leaders on the rostrum in between extensive views of columns of people walking past.

Next there is a video report on the alternative meetings and marches held in Moscow today. The narrator says that while the festivities were taking place in Red Square many thousands attended a meeting in Staraya Square next to the Polytechnic Museum. The announcer lists the organizations and parties that organized it and mentions that Moscow Soviet officials and Russian and Soviet people's deputies participated.

The announcer says: "Considering today as exclusively a party holiday for the CPSU, the demonstrators [manifestanty] spoke out for civic and national accord, called for an end to totalitarianism, and supported giving real political and economic sovereignty to Russia."

Yeltsin and Popov were among the speakers at the meeting. All the speakers, says the announcer, expressed concern for the country and its future. A requiem service followed the meeting "for all who died in the years of the totalitarian regime."

Then meeting participants marched to Zemlyanoy Val Street where Sakharov once lived. A large meeting took place there too. The announcer claims that a negative attitude to October, to the road travelled by the country in the last 73 years, the policy of the CPSU and the union government, was not concealed. The announcer notes that Memorial, Shchit, and other organizations were represented there. "The organizers of the demonstration proclaimed civic and national accord. However, judging from the mood of the participants and the overheated passions you would in no way say that they are ready to follow that slogan."

The announcer points out that the slogans carried by the crowd called for confrontation and nonreconciliation rather than compromise and accord. The demonstrators were demanding measures more radical than perestroyka. Gorbachev, the Supreme Soviet, and the government are all concerned about the same problems, the announcer says, the empty shelves etc, adding that cohesion and unity are needed today as never before.

The demonstration participants passed through Red Square, around the Kremlin, and ended their actions with a meeting in Manezh Square.

The video shows a meeting in Staraya Square. Yeltsin and Popov are on the platform with other speakers. They march to Sakharov's former home. Yeltsin and Popov march along with the people. Demonstrators in Red Square are shown followed by a shot of the platform on the Lenin Mausoleum, which is empty.

Demonstrators carried banners identifying the organization or movement they represent, along with pictures of Sakharov and religious images.

The following slogans can be seen clearly:

66 millions repressed = 450 hiroshimas.
Forgive, crucified Russia!
Ryzhkov's cabinet should resign!
1917, the beginning of the genocide of the peoples of Russia!
Gorbachev should resign!
Yazov and his criminal generals should resign!
Down with the CPSU!
Give the land to the people!
We support Yeltsin's and Silayev's course!

Alternative Rally Criticized

LD0711174290 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 7 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—A demonstration organised by the Moscow Democratic Elections Society and a group of people's deputies of the USSR and Russia, was held in the Soviet capital today.

Organisers held the demonstration as an alternative to the "official" demonstration in Red Square, and it was to "symbolise the day of mourning for those who perished without guilt, a fight for human rights, Russia's sovereignty and civil and national accord, rather than a holiday".

The demonstration was led by Soviet People's Deputies Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov, former investigators discharged from the Soviet Procurator's Office, Russian People's Deputies Tatyana Koryagina and Vitaliy Urazhtsev.

Participants in the demonstration included representatives from various parties and associations—the Party of Constitutional Democrats, Anarchists, the left wing of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Shchit Union. This explains the variety of slogans and political demands.

Along with nihilistic placards "President and parliament should resign", "Down with the CPSU", "Real sovereignty to Russia", "Freedom to political prisoners", there were calls to transfer "property of the CPSU to people", to switch to a market economy as soon as possible and to reach civil and national accord.

The main part of the demonstration was held near the Belorusskiy railway station and down Tverskaya Street. Having reached Pushkin Square, the column of demonstrators stopped to revere the memory of Academician Andrey Sakharov who often addressed his electors there.

The demonstrations went off smoothly, without any incidents or difficulties. Only once, when demonstrators were approaching Red Square, a stir and a slight jam occurred after Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moscow Mayor Gavriyil Popov unexpectedly joined the column. Together with demonstrators, they walked along the country's main square to leave the column after that.

The walk ended in a meeting in Manezhnaya Square. According to one of the meeting's organisers Russian People's Deputy Anatoliy Bugrimov, "some 150,000 people gathered there".

The meeting was addressed by Gdlyan, Russian People's Deputies Koryagina, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Urazhtsev and Iona Andronov and representatives of various public organisations and associations.

Some speakers called for a civic accord and reconciliation. Others demanded to put an end to violence in the

army. There was one thing that "united" the majority of speakers—they demanded that the Soviet Government resign.

In spite of the fact that speakers proclaimed their adherence to democratic and humane methods of political struggle and called to "prevent a bloodshed", some speeches were of a confronational character.

Some remarks by Gdlyan and Koryagina, who insulted the Soviet president, hardly contributed to restoring civil peace in the country. Gdlyan said the country "is on the verge of a civil war" and compared the current Soviet regime with a "fascist" one.

In the end of the meeting, participants adopted a resolution demanding that celebrations of the October Revolution anniversaries be cancelled and calling for a mass secession from the Soviet Communist Party.

PRAVDA Comments on GOSR Celebrations

PM0811114790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[S. Bogatko, Yu. Kazmin, N. Sautin "Reportage on Military Parade and Demonstrations in Moscow": "October Congratulations to Working People"]

[Excerpts] Any civilized nation has a respectful attitude to its history. "Savagery, baseness, and ignorance do not respect the past by groveling to the present." These words from a man of genius—A.S. Pushkin—are worth recalling, I think, at a time when the fatherland is experiencing an agonizing process of renewal. Can mankind's history today be imagined without the events of October 1917? What is the real essence of what happened in Russia at that time? The working man stated his right to a human existence, civil rights, and a worthy life. The Bolsheviks' clear and universally comprehensible slogans "All Power to the Soviets, Peace to the Peoples, Land to the Peasants, Factories to the Workers" uplifted the people to struggle against age-old deprivation of rights.

Yes, the socialist revolution was victorious. But for seven whole decades there were unceasing attempts to distort the principles of people's power and social justice. This is why the path to the sacred and righteous goal—a realm of justice and universal well-being—has proved so agonizingly difficult.

The soviets have had to put up with everything—the most savage tyranny, armed aggression, the blandishments of every kind of selfishness—personal, local, departmental, party, ethnic. Society is currently in a crisis. The barrackroom equality of the destitute no longer suit us, the ambitions and arrogance of political charlatans, the omnipotence of the state monopoly, and shameless rampant speculation are intolerable to us. The diversity and contradictoriness exhibited by demonstrations and rallies reflects the pitch of the political struggle. No matter who you listen to, everyone claims to be right. Everyone wants a better life. But what principles should govern the building of prosperity? How are the creative forces of a great people to be unfettered? So that each man's freedom does not flout the next man's rights, so that the entire people, not just individuals, have a better life. How are the yawning emptiness of store shelves, the inflation, the high cost of living to be overcome—by making improvements to discredited planning or capitulating unconditionally to the operators of the "shadow economy?" What should we do—hold rallies, strike, or demand that people's deputies fulfill their election promises? What force is capable of organizing the harvest, sorting out economic links, stopping interethnic enmity?..

But today is a holiday. On our way to Red Square early in the morning we saw people streaming toward the city center. The slogans, banners, and posters are now more diverse and anxious than uniformly upbeat. The pitch of political passions can be said to have reached crisis point. Above the demonstrators' heads there were banners inscribed with extremely categorical calls beginning with the words "Down With..."; "Throw the Book at..."; "Away With..." But there were more in support of October, honest toil, social justice, and unity.

The previous day the writers of this reportage had occasion to meet with many participants in this review of the Soviet Armed Forces' strength, with front-line soldiers from the Great Patriotic War and Muscovites from various jobs and age-groups. We asked them: What is your attitude to the Red Square parades? Most of them answered: "It's a nationwide, state tradition. We celebrate 7 November as the birthday of the Soviet state. National celebrations are inseparable from historical and patriotic traditions."

The preparations for the parade took place in a difficult situation. Some people have singled out the Army as a target for the hardest and most immoderate attacks; the problems and ills inherent in society are being heaped upon it, and people are increasingly dragging it into politics from various sides, making it the target for astounding attacks. Dropping the military parade, we were told by servicemen and Muscovites, would be equivalent to trying to drive yet another wedge between the people and the Army. [passage omitted]

The ceremonial march-past was not a demonstration of military might or an in-house [vedomstvennyy] event. It is a martial folk tradition with a profound historical meaning by which our ancestors too celebrated victories of Russian arms and readiness to defend the homeland. If we dropped it we would become people who have forgotten our roots. [passage omitted]

"Red Square welcomes the representatives of the capital's labor collectives participating in the celebratory demonstration," said the announcer.

The guests in the stands were discussing the slogans being carried by the demonstrators. They are a concentration of Soviet people's thoughts and desires today:

"Stop the Disintegration of the USSR!"
"Laws Don't Work Without State Discipline!"
"Hands off Lenin!"
"Don't Allow Capitalism in Russia!"
"Pull the Country Out of Crisis!" [passage omitted]

Moscow also saw alternative demonstrations organized by the most diverse political movements, clubs, parties, and other associations. Regarding yesterday as a purely CPSU celebration, the demonstrators urged civic and ethnic accord, called for totalitarianism to be stopped, and urged the granting of real political and economic sovereignty to Russia. Unfortunately there were also extremist slogans and ostentatious acts verging on garden-variety hooliganism.

Thus, Democratic Union supporters staged an anti-Soviet song festival in Pushkin Square. That can only be described as tasteless. Among the banners in the column organized by the Moscow Voters' Association, the "Democratic Russia" Organizing Committee, and others there was a picture of a target with the inscription "Oh Kaplan, Kaplan!..." [name of man who attempted to assassinate Lenin]. These are the kind of "democrats" we have in our country...

...As always on this day of celebration there was a carnival in the city. Stall traders did not spread much joy this year, unfortunately, and people didn't manage to organize fairs, as in the past. But instead performers put on shows, clubs staged children's concerts, and the theaters were open.

For some reason we would like to end this reportage on an optimistic note. Our fatherland has experienced everything. But the people emerge renewed and strong from such situations.

Gorbachev Speaks at Kremlin Reception 7 Nov

LD0711172190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Report on speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, at a reception in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 7 November]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 7 Nov (TASS)—[Passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev addressed those assembled. He said:

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades!

Today we are marking the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Just as the great French revolution cannot be crossed out of the the memory of peoples, in the same way attempts at diminishing the worldwide importance of our revolution are powerless. It was called to life by the people's aspiration for the ideal of justice and a worthy life; the revolution reflected the drive of Russia's peoples toward a new life. That was the people's choice, indeed.

But even today, being aware of the errors and tragedies of the post-October period, nobody can deny that our revolution has left an imprint on the entire history of the century, that it was the October Revolution precisely that kindled the bright fire of freedom which cannot be extinguished. And if today we are departing from, the model of socialism that has not justified itself to a considerable degree, this does not mean that we are departing from October.

On the contrary, we think that it is during the search for a more just and a more humane life that the socialist ideal will come true. This is the meaning of our perestroyka. You know that currently it has entered its critical phase.

We have already adopted fundamental decisions. We have started the transfer to a market economy. Deep transformations are being carried out in the political sphere, and a new union treaty is being drawn up.

These are major changes and momentous decisions. Are we up to them today? Yes, undoubtedly, but on one condition. It is necessary to have political stability and civil accord. Today, life itself puts forward the slogan of uniting all patriotic forces for the sake of the homeland's renewal on the principles of perestroyka. I can say: Such is the will of our people.

The importance of perestroyka in the USSR is reaching far beyond the boundaries of our country. It influences enormously the situation in the whole world. The prospect of a peaceful period in the development of civilization is becoming evermore clear. This means that mankind as a whole and every individual country are acquiring new possibilities for the improvement of people's lives. In such an atmosphere each country can overcome its own difficulties more effectively, and we know that not only the world's poorest countries but the richest countries as well, have quite a number of them.

Having taken a course for the renovation of our social system, we are carrying it out within the framework of the socialist choice. The construction of a society of humane and democratic socialism will come to be a true embodiment of the correctly understood aims of the October Revolution. This is our goal, all aspirations and efforts by the people of our great country are devoted to this.

Accept my sincere wishes for peace, well-being, and happiness.

The reception took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Honors Award Recipients

PM0711114190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Deserved Awards of the Motherland"]

[Text] A recognition of tremendous labor and an outstanding creative contribution to the flourishing of the Fatherland—that was how USSR President M.S. Gorbachev described the thrust of the ceremony held 6 November in the Grand Kremlin Palace, Vladimirskiy Hall. On the eve of the holiday, workers and writers, cosmonauts and rural workers, enterprise leaders and artistes, scientists and artists, doctors and teachers, and military men who had been awarded the Motherland's high assessments were invited here for the ceremony of the state awards' presentation.

The awards presented by the head of state included the gold stars of Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor; orders of the October Revolution, the Labor Red Banner, and Labor Glory first class; the military title of army general; the honorary titles of "People's Artist of the USSR," "People's Doctor of the USSR," People's Teacher of the USSR," "Honored Inventor of the USSR," and "Honored Transport Worker of the USSR."

It gives me enormous pleasure to present to you the awards of our great multinational state, M.S. Gorbachev stressed. Even today, when we are faced with incredibly complex tasks, we should not forget that we are not poor, we stand on firm ground and have enormous potential and resources, talent, and scientific potential to reach new standards of life and open up a broad road for our state's advancement. And that is why what you are doing today, some at the factory or plant, others in the fields and stock-raising units, others at the computer, others in the laboratory, others at the helm, others on stage—all this is the labor which, when pooled, improves our Fatherland. All of you here very worthily represent our society and it is with great joy that I fulfill the state's assignment. It is particularly pleasant for me to do this on the eve of our state holiday—the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The president warmly congratulated the award recipients and wished them new achievements and creative energy.

Words of thanks for the high assessment of their activity were signed by Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR A.N. Balandin; writers A.P. Keshokov and D.N. Kugultinov; K.V. Kunitskiy, general director of the "Ramenskiy" agro-industrial combine; composer A.N. Pakhmutova; I.M. Smoktunovskiy, artiste of the USSR Moscow Academy Arts Theater; I.V. Soldatov, department chief of the Kuybyshev Medical Institute; A.G. Temchura, team leader at the "Rossiya" agricultural firm; N.G. Marshalko, mixed team leader at the Dytakovskiy crystal plant; T.M. Karpova, artiste at the Moscow V. Mayakovskiy Theater; and N.A. Kasyan, department chief at the Leshchinskiy psychoneurological residential home.

6 Nov GOSR Meeting Speeches Highlighted

PM0711171190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS account of speeches delivered at 6 November in Moscow ceremonial meeting to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the general heading: "Via Diversity to Unity and Accord"]

[Text] Over the last decade we have concluded that the administrative edict system of managing our economy does not guarantee our attaining the requisite level of prosperity for the people, USSR People's Deputy M.S. Simonov, general designer at Moscow's P.O. Sukhoy Machine Building Plant, said. New solutions are needed, along with new economic policy and new thinking. In the foreign policy sphere we have succeeded in elaborating new approaches and securing historic results in creating an atmosphere of peace on the planet. We must resolve economic questions in an equally radical manner.

Let me say a few words about conversion. Historically it is the result of the peace-loving policy pursued by our country during the perestroyka process. However, the speaker stressed, enterprises in defense sectors of industry are experiencing considerable difficulties during the conversion period connected with the drastic reduction in orders and funding and the possibility of cuts in skilled specialists. Nonetheless defense enterprise collectives have started elaborating civil projects with understanding and interest.

For instance, our design bureau is working on two supersonic civil aircraft. One, the 12-seater SV-21, has a speed of 2,000km per hour and a range of 7,000km, while the second—the 60-seater S-51—a has a range of 9,000km. The design bureau is carrying out this work in conjunction with American and British firms.

Despite the natural and artificial difficulties, the conversion process is developing even faster than we expected. So, the whole history of our industry's development, radical economic reform, and conversion are creating conditions ensuring that our people have a high standard of living. The task is to ensure that this potential is actually realized and to extricate our country from the economic crisis within the shortest possible time. It is, so to speak, up to us.

I.A. Antonova, director of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Art, dwelt on cultural problems. The spiritual corrosion that has afflicted society is the most terrible thing, she stressed. Moral principles are being oppressed, intellectual potential is declining, and the bounds of conscience are being overstepped.

The bitterness that has engulfed society does not always enable it to understand the underlying reasons for the

catastrophe that has befallen it and, thus, to seek the correct means of escaping from it. The irresponsible voices of those people who rush to attribute any negative phenomena in our life, including the cultural sphere, to the original fallaciousness of the October Revolution can be heard more and and more loudly, the result being the proposal to stop celebrating October, the vandalism against monuments to revolutionary figures, the idealization of the country's prerevolutionary life and the monarchy, and the loathsome nationalism which borders on cruel farce.

The revolution in our country was accomplished by great people, true heroes inspired by the noble lofty ideals of freedom, justice, and equal opportunities and the dream of human happiness. Scores of generations before them strove to improve life by their ideas and participation in popular movements, uprisings, and revolutions. The speaker rejected the claim that the revolution started the destruction of culture. During the early years of the revolution she recalled that the Soviet Government issued more than 20 decrees and orders designed to preserve the cultural heritage. They include those protecting libraries and book stores and banning the export and sale abroad of objects of artistic and historical importance. Restoration work was carried out in the Kremlin on Lenin's instructions.

The constructive creative spirit of the revolution enriched 20th century world art with brilliant achievements in every sphere. Suffice it to cite the names of Mayakovskiy, Pasternak, Meyerhold, Takrov, Gorky, Bulgakov, Eisenstein, Dovzhenko, Shostakovich, Prokofyev, Tatlin, and Melnikov. Unfortunately, the onward movement of our revolution was interrupted by terror and the establishment of a totalitarian regime. Cultural policy was grossly distorted. The treasures of the Hermitage were sold off during the thirties and the Sukharev Tower, the Church of Christ the Savior, and the Kazan Cathedral were demolished. During the years of Stalinism disgraceful resolutions were published regarding writers and composers, the Chamber Theater was closed down, and one of the best art museums in the world—Moscow's Museum of New Western Art—was broken up.

Nonetheless the light of the ideals of good and justice has never been extinguished, the speaker noted. There was opposition to evil during the most difficult years. Perestroyka was in many respects guided by the truth preserved in culture. Knights in shining armor have always been the torchbearers for culture, and they helped the people preserve the living fire, the rays of hope. Today we are frenziedly seeking ways of reviving our society. As in the past, culture supports our courage in this. By helping culture, we will be helping politics, the economy, our entire life. We must finally realize that culture is not an institution but a main aim of the development of society and mankind as a whole, a fulcrum which will turn us toward the truth.

Some people today with their callous, cruel hearts would like to spoil the Great October holiday, but history will have its say.

Cities and people have their own destiny, Leningrad Soviet Deputy Ye.S. Krasnitskiy, electrical fitter at Leningrad maritime trading port, recalled. Peter's city was the first in October 1917. It was from the banks of the Neva that the impassioned appeal "To Russia's Citizens!" came. The first decrees of Soviet power on peace and on land were born there. The practical implementation of the great Communist principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity on the territory of the vast empire began there, from the toppled monarchy's citadel. The waves of intolerance, violence, and rejection of traditional values surged up from there, from the banks of the Neva. This would have taken another country several centuries. But we compressed everything into the life of a single generation.

The country is once again at a turning point today. Once again people on the banks of the Neva are ready to take up the challenge of history. The democratically elected Leningrad Soviet, which took power into its clever, honest, but still not very skilled hands, was the first. The democratization process which is undoubtedly positive and promising harbors dangerous reefs beneath its surface. Resolving the principle of continuity of authority through universal condemnation and negation threatens us with the degeneration of democracy into mob rule. The shortage of political and—it cannot be denied—often just general human culture gives rise to a craving for symbolic violent actions and failure to assess properly the danger of adopting simple, superficial decisions. This is in a city that was one of the world's cultural centers for several centuries.

What is the way out? What is the miraculous means of saving us from slipping into chaos? Does it exist?

It does. It lies within each one of us. Namely the people's age-old culture and the wisdom within all mankind. Answers to highly important questions of life reside in the postulates of panhuman values.

Now let me speak about something else, the speaker said: Those people who are hatching plans to restore the name of Peter to Leningrad. The desire to return to the great pages of the past is quite understandable at this dramatic time for the country. The desire of certain forces to wipe the name of Lenin from the map is equally understandable. Each of us does after all have his own profoundly personal view of the problem. My grandfather, the speaker continued, died on the Leningrad front. My father volunteered at the age of 17, again for the Leningrad front. My grandmother worked in a plant throughout the 900 days of the Leningrad blockade. Were I now to vote in the Leningrad Soviet in favor of renaming the city, I would be spitting on their graves.

It would perhaps be wrong to say now that the socialist fatherland is in danger. But we are faced with real danger—the destruction of our state system. Just as has

happened on several occasions in our country's 1,000-year history. Our hope of salvation resides in rallying all healthy forces and in a socialist choice based on panhuman values. If we are able to put our forebears' valuable legacy of wisdom to correct use, it will increase our strength and reason. If we cannot, there will be no one to pity us, and no reason for anyone to do so. I think that I am entitled to say that we in Leningrad believe in the constructive power of the perestroyka we have stirred up, in the ultimate triumph of panhuman values, which by rights include the ideas proclaimed 73 years ago: peace for the peoples, land for the peasants, factories for the workers, and all power to the soviets!

Very many people are now arguing about Great October, V.Yu. Kalashnikov, a student at Moscow's I.M. Sechenov Medical Academy, said. Facts have always been the best proof, so let us prove to the whole world, above all ourselves, that we have not made a mistake. Let us prove what we can do so that we can really speak with pride about our Soviet health service, for instance. I am glad that a great deal of attention has been paid to medicine of late.

The student suggested that those present take a stroll in their spare time around Bolshaya Pirogovskaya and look at the student hostel and the academy's base. Money is, of course, needed to put everything to rights, he underlined. However, changes in the system of training for specialists, where freeloading and leveling still prevail, do not require rubles or even dollars. It is thought that if you enter a medical higher education establishment, you will end up learning very little since the program is geared to the average level of the students and to training the average medic. Admittedly, some things have begun to change of late. Perhaps, the speaker went on to say, I should not have said all this on a holiday, but I very much hope that when a working Monday comes along the esteemed deputies will remember medicine and help it.

Touching on the political situation within the country, the speaker said the following: "We must forget mutual recriminations and complaints and seek general consensus for the sake of a happy future while it is still possible. It is necessary to act without giving way to despondency, without succumbing to panic. Attacks on the CPSU are no rarity now. But at any rate this party does unite broad strata of the population and it is the party without which we would have difficulty in attaining our goal. That is the reason I joined it a year ago."

Many different epithets have been devised with regard to our holiday, L.Ye. Bliznov, USSR Supreme Soviet member, fitter and repair worker at the Moscow Knitted Accessories Production Association in Moscow Oblast's Pavlovskiy Posad City, said. But times today are such that splendid phrases are out of place. People have grown tired of verbal hullabaloo today. They are coming to the 73d anniversary of October at a difficult and alarming time. We have no need of high-flown slogans and promises in the current historical situation, we need clarity, consolidation, and unity between our union republics—starting with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the USSR Government.

Anticommunist and antisocialist propaganda could have very serious consequences, especially since interethnic conflicts have developed splendidly as a result. We have been familiar from childhood with the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" But the situation in the country now is such that people are becoming disunited.

Many people today have realized that there is no alternative to market relations. The people are increasingly coming to realize the need to take this step. Our mechanism for social protection for the population should operate with particular efficiency during the transitional period. If we promise that market relations will develop painlessly in our country and will produce an abundance of goods on our shelves in the very near future, we are once again giving people, already tired of promises, another portion of manna from heaven.

In conclusion the speaker noted the exceptional importance of the question of confidence in the country's political leaders during the period of revolutionary change. In this connection he stressed the significance of a constructive alliance between M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin. "It is time for both of them to realize," the speaker said, "that further confrontation reduces the the popularity of both."

Congratulating everyone on the 73d anniversary of October, he wished for Soviet people to step up their efforts to implement perestroyka and stabilize the country's national economy.

The ceremonial sitting closed with a festive concert.

Lukyanov GOSR Speech Comparison

PM0711114390

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 November 1990 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1-2 a TASS report of a speech delivered by A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at a ceremonial sitting 6 October to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Revolution. This item has been compared with the translation of the Moscow Television Russian version published under the headline "Lukyanov Speech" in the 7 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 32, revealing the following variations:

Page 32, column one, first paragraph, first sentence reads: A ceremonial sitting to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Moscow 6 November in the context of the consolidation and comprehensive renewal of our society. It was held on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet this year.

M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, A.I. Lukyanov, Russian Federation leaders B.N. Yeltsin and I.S. Silayev, peoples'

deputies from the USSR, union and autonomous republics, Moscow city and oblast soviets, representatives of the capital's labor collectives and public, and Moscow Garrison troops took part in the sitting. Foreign guests were present.

The ceremonial sitting was opened by I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union.

The USSR national anthem was played in the hall.

USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A.I. Lukyanov was given the floor.

We have gathered here in the Kremlin Palace, he said, to mark the... (Adding introductory passage, substituting and deleting words).

Page 32, second column, third complete paragraph, second sentence reads: ...not only the "Power to the soviets!", not merely a new political situation. It raises people's... (omitting passage, retranslating, picking up next sentence).

Page 32, column two, third complete paragraph, fifth sentence reads: ... And they are more... (substituting word).

Page 32, second column, last paragraph, first sentence reads: ...said in October: "Works and factories to the workers!" Perestroyka signifies the... (adding quotation marks).

Page 32, second column, last paragraph, fourth sentence reads: ...the implementation of extraordinary measures directed toward improving the economy and... (substituting words).

Page 33, first column, first complete paragraph, first sentence reads: ...said in October: "Land to the peasants!" Perestroyka has already... (adding quotation marks).

Page 33, first column, second complete paragraph, second sentence reads: ...to life the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," which proclaimed the... (adding quotation marks).

Page 33, first column, last paragraph, first sentence reads: ...the October Revolution: "Peace to the peoples!" Perestroyka has offered... (adding quotation marks).;

Page 33, first column, last paragraph, fourth sentence reads: ...is also the resolution of a huge... (subsituting word).

Page 33, column two third complete paragraph, first sentence reads: ...Marx once wrote: "Revolution is the locomotive of history...." (adding quotation marks).

Page 33, column two, third complete paragraph, second sentence reads: ...were the words: "To drive that locomotive at top speed and keep it on the rails."

It seems to me that here is the key to understanding our current situation... (adding quotation marks and word, picking up new paragraph). "understanding" and picking up fourth paragraph, first sentence);

Page 33, column two, fourth complete paragraph, second sentence reads: ...its magnitude of what is to be done, a sense of... (deleting quotation marks).

Page 34, column one, first complete paragraph reads: ...In conclusion A. I. Lukyanov said:... (adding phrase).

Rest Day Changed From Sunday to Friday

LD0711151590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] We have three days holiday ahead of us, and to create favorable conditions for the leisure of working people and to make rational use of working time, the USSR Council of Ministers has resolved to shift the rest day from Sunday to Friday.

Dzasokhov Meets With Komsomol CC Officials

PM0711144290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Anniversary Marked"]

[Text] In connection with the celebrations of the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 5 November there was a meeting between A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the collective of All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee personnel.

In his speech A.S. Dzasokhov described the measures connected with the celebration of the October anniversary and dwelt on the main milestones in the country's development. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee answered numerous questions.

Russian, Ukrainian Foreign Ministers Meet

LD0711072590 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT 7 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations November 7 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko, who are attending the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly, have met here.

During a long and frank conversation, they discussed a wide range of matters concerning bilateral cooperation, primarily in the foreign policy sphere.

The two ministers informed each other of their governments' positions on the most acute problems of present-day political life.

The two sides emphasied the importance of establishing direct contacts between the republics' foreign ministries and agreed to maintain them at various levels in Kiev and Moscow.

They also agreed to sign a protocol soon on cooperation between the foreign ministries of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine and to hold regular political consultations on matters of mutual interest.

Commentary Sees New Future for Socialism

LD0711210190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Mikhail Mayorov commentary]

[Text] One can agree with the maximalist claim that socialism has collapsed in the east of Europe, but there is a small but important reservation. Totalitarian socialism has collapsed, the Stalinist model of it. This does not mean I deny the chance of transition by some East European country to capitalism, writes Mikhail Mayorov. Much is determined today by the accumulated discontent of the people with a past, with economic stagnation and with the suppression of the individual. Freedom of thought, once it has surfaced, can swing the pendulum in the opposite direction. The impatience of the people prevents giving thoughts to what is happening, to chosing the most optimal guidelines.

The time of deep evaluations has yet to come. There will appear a possibility to reconsider socialism in a new way, to find shortfalls in the market system, too. Man has always wandered in search for an ideal society from the angle of social justice. That was how he chanced upon one day on the socialist idea, too, and it is no fault of this idea that it ultimately led to a statehood and a method of running the economy that are both no longer existing in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. The blame lies with the people who usurped the right to interpret the socialist idea to their liking, subjugating the idea to the interests of their personal role.

Thus the past has been done away with. The democratic process has helped to overturn the life in the countries where until recently the regimes of Zhivkov and Ceausescu existed. Democracy has never been the antipode to the initial socialist idea. At the same time, democracy has always given scope to the activities of forces that champion restructuring society along the socialist lines. But the current situation in the East European countries is not simple. Anticommunism is becoming in some of them a new Berlin Wall behind which some would like to isolate the advocates of the left-wing alternative. In some countries, one form of totalitarianism is being replaced with another. They are trying to have communist parties removed from the political life fully.

I am confident, writes Mikhail Mayarov, that the advocates of the socialist idea will yet have more than one chance to regain the lost ground. But this will happen when they fully renounce everything that compromised them in the past, everything that has been exhausted and found wrong. The socialist idea which they will picture to themselves will apparently be filled with a new content. The years of totalitarianism have caused a big damage to the political, social and economic development of the East European countries. But those years have a positive aspect too. They have revealed what exactly has to be reviewed in communist practice and corrected. What exactly is necessary for them to borrow from the international experience. If socialism is to be forgotten, it should be the one color of socialism. A creative approach to the cause must produce different models, but in one direction only: freedom of the individual, scope for initiative, and an economy placed at the service of men.

Official Clarifies Novaya Zemlya Test

PM0511165590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Novaya Zemlya Test"]

[Text] The nuclear explosion conducted by the Soviet Union at the Novaya Zemlya test site 24 October is the "sole and final one" this year, V. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, has said at a news conference.

The Soviet Union advocates, he stressed, the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. The USSR is ready to work in this direction through bilateral talks with the United States, within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, and at next January's conference to amend the 1963 treaty banning tests in the three media, the diplomat said.

He pointed out that the USSR is prepared to take another path—a moratorium on nuclear explosions initially on a bilateral basis with the United States, and subsequently extended as an interim measure prior to securing accords legally binding on all countries. But, the deputy minister stressed, we cannot say now, with no real prospect of a moratorium or the attainment of an agreement on a complete test ban, that the Soviet Union will unilaterally stop all testing.

Touching on his meeting last Monday with the Nordic countries' ambassadors, Karpov said that they displayed an understanding of the reasons which prompted the USSR's nuclear test on Novaya Zemlya. He backed the ambassadors' proposal to hold an international symposium at which general criteria could be formulated regarding the approach to underground nuclear explosions.

Answering the question of whether the explosion on Novaya Zemlya attests to the closure of the Semipalatinsk test site, Lieutenant General S. Zelentsov, a USSR Defense Ministry spokesman who took part in the news conference, remarked: The question of the continued

functioning of the Semipalatinsk test site has not yet been resolved. The question of Novaya Zemlya will also be resolved.

It was stressed at the news conference that the relevant ministries and departments have frequently informed deputies at all levels and the press that no nuclear weapons test is carried out in the USSR without the Soviet Government's permission. The USSR president's Defense Council is adopting a definitive decision on tests. Specific dates for each test are determined by the technical preparation of the experiment, weather conditions, and the state of the diagnostic apparatus.

Negligence Blamed for Accident at Beryllium Plant

PM0711142390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Mirolevich report under "Returning to an Earlier Article" rubric: "After the Beryllium Attack"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk—An extraordinary commission examining the causes and consequences of the accident at the beryllium production facility of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Nuclear Fuel Plant (the "Ulbinskiy metallurgicheskiy zavod" ["Ulba Metallurgical Plant"] Production Association), has concluded its work. (See IZVESTIYA Nos 257, 258, 259, 261, 263).

To begin with, a few words about a dismal "first" for us: explosions at a beryllium production facility resulting in the discharge of a harmful substance into a city's atmosphere—this is the first accident in the world at such an enterprise.

The commission established that the accident was the logical culmination of years of violations and miscalculations, from the design of the shops to elementary disregard of safety practices. In particular, beryllium powder was continuously settling in a conduit under the shop, and there was no provision in the design for removing it. By the time of the accident around 4,000 kg of beryllium dust had accumulated there.

Firing operations in the shop were carried out without observing the precautionary measures necessary in this kind of plant. There was welding going on in the shop also on the morning of 12 September. A particle of molten metal fell into an air duct and caused the beryllium to ignite. An air current drew the fire into the conduit under the shop, where there was more than enough "food" for it. Under the influence of the high temperature in the conduit water started separating into hydrogen and oxygen. While the air duct was operating, part of the hydrogen was ejected into the atmosphere. Once the signs of the fire had been detected, the ventilation in the shop was switched off, and the accumulating hydrogen began to explode.

The dust and gas clouds that formed following the explosions blanketed the city, covering a region in which 23 schools, 42 preschool establishments, three technical vocational colleges, and two higher educational institutions were located, along with at least 120,000 residents. Workers and inhabitants were subjected to the effects of beryllium concentrations ranging from 60-890 times the maximum permissible.

The list of causes leading to the accident, miscalculations during its elimination, erroneous actions, and downright inaction account for dozens of points in the extraordinary commission's final document. Essentially they amount to one thing: They didn't expect... But it can also be said: THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO. And no wonder—even in the plant's civil defense plan all the measures were devised for wartime. A peacetime accident at the beryllium production facility was not prognosticated at all.

The city's civil defense headquarters was not told of the accident, and it was not given information on the beryllium content in the air. At its own responsibility and risk the civil defense headquarters, not waiting for the order obligatory in such instances from a city and oblast leadership in disarray, communicated the instructions available to it, and intended for a calamity at the nuclear fuel plant as a whole, only two and a half hours (!) after the beginning of the accident. On hearing this information combine operators in fields 100 km from the city abandoned their machines to escape from a supposed radioactive cloud. The compilation of a new text, which now omitted the radioactive danger but scarcely mentioned the beryllium menace, continued... in the party obkom [oblast committee]. Thus, almost another hour was lost. During that hour children were either getting out of school or were arriving for the second shift, and, encountering adults wearing respirators, they also tried to protect themselves by using their pioneer scarves. And during that hour the highest concentration of beryllium was recorded in the residential areas of the city.

That then is the high price paid for yet another confirmation of an already well-known fact: That the excessive secrecy of installations does not guarantee peoples' safety. On the contrary, it increases their lack of protection.

And now to the guarantees that an accident of this type will not occur again. The plant leaders do give such guarantees, but their assurances are worth little—in the month following the tragedy there were two more fires at the enterprise...

But, generally speaking, no one is now asking this offspring of the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry to promise "not to do it again." During the investigation it became clear that the nuclear fuel plant is situated in the city despite all the existing safety regulations.

But maybe the fears have been exaggerated; possibly the technology is such that the plant discharges only beneficial ozone into the atmosphere, and if there had been no explosion there would have been no reason to closely examine its output. If only that were true. In the several decades of its existence the beryllium facility has still not managed to decrease its emissions to the planned levels. Every 24 hours it ejects into the atmosphere four times more than stipulated by international and national standards. Evidently that is why the department medical service has even officially established a special higher norm for the beryllium content of the organism of Ust-Kamenogorsk inhabitants.

...After the accident 2,700 people were examined at the department medical section. Of these, 236 (including 86 children) were found to have a beryllium level of one and a half to five times the natural background level established for inhabitants of Ust-Kamenogorsk.

"I have signed a decision to halt further examinations," S. Keyzer, a professor from the Leningrad Scientific Research Institute of Maritime Transport Hygiene, told journalists at a briefing organized by those to blame for the accident. "The doses received do not entail pathological changes. However, in the fourth quarter of this year and next year the institute will carry out immunological research among the population."

The general notion of "the population" is actually represented by those same 236 people "branded" with beryllium. Let us stress that they were found to be contaminated following an examination of less than three percent of the inhabitants subjected to the beryllium attack. Statistical methods are used successfully in science, but what are living people "enveloped" in percentages rather than attention supposed to do?

"With good medical treatment we **PROLONG** the patients' life by a few years," Prof. Keyzer stated at the above-mentioned briefing.

But we in our country have developed preparations whose application within the first five days after receiving an increased dose of beryllium significantly decreases the probability of developing lung cancer. This is widely known, yet following the first report of the beryllium accident in Ust-Kamenogorsk only a team of research scientists turns up, and not a single doctor with a bagful of preparations, even if only for the children who had "bathed" in the beryllium clouds. After all, nothing was known about the true situation in those first days and even "favorable predictions" were few and far between.

Something about the prognoses. The figures for the maximum permissible concentration which the inhabitants of Ust-Kamenogorsk were given and which are the basis for all the conclusions were formulated in 1959. Today it is no secret that many "maximum permissible concentrations" were introduced in our country not through concern for the safety of the individual but, rather, according to the capabilities of the technology.

The research of the Moscow Institute of Biophysics published in 1984 and that of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Oncological Scientific Center's Carcinogenesis Scientific Research Institute affirm that the existing maximum permissible concentration of beryllium does not protect the people against cancer. Maximum permissible concentrations for the air around residential areas should be a lower by a factor.

Readers of IZVESTIYA (No 263) already know that the presidium of the East Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has decided to close the beryllium installation and has declared the oblast an ecological disaster zone.

"This is unrealistic," Ye. Skoz, chief engineer at the Ulba Metallurgical Plant, believes. "Disregarding our customers abroad, we have links with thousands of enterprises in the Union. They cannot do without beryllium. From the economic viewpoint, it is cheaper to build the city in a different place."

From the ecological viewpoint, too: The earth, the grass, the trees, the asphalt, the water, the air—there have been dozens of investigations—are harmful to every living thing here. From a town of 30,000 inhabitants in the 1940's, Ust-Kamenogorsk has become an oblast center with 300,000 inhabitants, thanks to its factories. Today the enterprises that gave rise to the city are killing it. The situation is at an impasse and is typical of many of the country's cities.

How can people continue to live in them? This is not the best time for such a question. From the political viewpoint, too. For instance, the other day the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet discussed the problem of whether or not to include on the session agenda the East Kazakhstan inhabitants' demands that the oblast be recognized as an ecological disaster zone. It voted not to include this issue. No one really doubts that it is not a question there of people living but of people surviving. But the East Kazakhstan inhabitants have a reputation for being "separatists," and they are seeking bilingual equality in the republic more actively than others... So politics has "overshadowed" the ecological problem. In response, the inhabitants of Ust-Kamenogorsk held a citywide protest action 2 November—yet another cry from people in despair.

...In the meantime the military prosecutor's office is carrying out an investigation into the fact of the accident. There is also time for the scientists to argue about the consequences for the city's inhabitants. There is one thing on which neither the Leningrad "shipping experts" nor our researchers or foreign researchers disagree: that everything will become clear in the first 10 years. It is planned to build new laboratories in Ust-Kamenogorsk. It only remains to await the results of the "experiment" conducted on 120,000 people, including the author of these lines and his family.

Academic Considers Populace Exhausted

91US0060A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, USSR people's deputy, director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion, by I. Savvateyeva; place and date not given: "This Is Some Kind of Nervous Exhaustion"]

[Text][Savvateyeva] Tatyana Ivanovna, you have a unique opportunity to judge what is happening in the country, based not on personal observations and impressions, but on broader information from primary sources—from the people themselves, from families and apartments where the air itself is saturated with the alarms and concerns of the day. Tell us, what picture of today's individual does your research give you?

[Zaslavskaya] First of all, I would note the high level of anxiety and weariness. Some kind of a general "exhaustion of the nervous system." A year ago when we tried to ascertain whether people were confident in their tomorrow, 62 percent responded in the negative. But this September, a total of about one and a half percent were confident. Even in Moscow it was only five percent. And in many regions of the country, in general not one person was found who did not have alarm for the future.

[Savvateyeva] Is this condition of general depression somehow tied to the crisis of socialist ideology?

[Zaslavskaya] Undoubtedly. While previously people did not live very well, many of them were proud of the fact that they are fulfilling an important historical mission: We are blazing a trail for the future development of all mankind. Today, the people are left not only without sugar and tobacco, but also with a realization that the difficult 70-year historical road proved to be a complete mistake, and that in the end it led us into a blind alley. As a result, pessimism has enveloped everyone. I would say "historical pessimism." And, of course, the sense of complete chaos acts in an oppressive way: The collapse of the economy, the collapse of the Union, and the increase in crime...

[Savvateyeva] Theodore Shanin, one of the foremost Western sociologists, thinks that our society is sick with anemia: It is collapsing because there is a disintegration of the holy of holies—the moral code that cements it. Tell us, do you agree with this assessment?

[Zaslavskaya] However sad this may be, it is so. One of the reasons for the breakdown of the moral foundations, although not the only one, remains disenchantment with socialism. The fact is that eternal ethical values, such as honor, duty, morality, and patriotism, were in our country made subordinate to and dependent on socialist ideology. As a result, today, when this ideology is crashing, the people are generally left without any ethical guidelines, and they are ceasing to sense what is good and what is bad.

[Savvateyeva] But perhaps there is a kernel of truth in the assertion that a renewed socialist idea is to some degree capable of consolidating our society and leading it out of a state of general chaos?

[Zaslavskaya] I think this is not so. Today, from 10 to 20 percent of the population are in favor of a socialist choice—the percentage depends on how the question is formulated. First, this is not a big part of the population. Second, it is getting smaller fast. The process has been moving especially rapidly in the last couple of years. Moreover, this 10-20 percent basically represents the older generation; the overwhelming majority of youth does not support the socialist idea. The attitude toward the Communist Party is also typical. In August of this year, only 14 percent of those polled expressed full confidence in it.

[Savvateyeva] But do you not allow that in the near future the communists' position can become stronger? Dissatisfaction in the country is increasing, and it is getting more difficult to live—and the people are associating all of this with perestroyka. But Geydar Aliyev is already returning to the political arena, supported by 95 percent of the voters; Ligachev in Moscow is writing his memoirs, and Usubaliyev in Frunze is already publishing his... What will happen further?

[Zaslavskaya] I absolutely agree: A struggle is going on for a return to the former system. I am also confident that certain forces in the country are deliberately heating up the situation. And, nonetheless, with all of these difficulties, I think that there can no longer be a turn back in the conscience of people: The disenchantment with "real socialism" is too great.

[Savvateyeva] But from whom then are the people seeking support? What socio-political forces and social institutions enjoy the trust of the people?

[Zaslavskaya] However strange it may seem (but perhaps it is not at all strange, but natural)—the church was ahead of all of them. Today, 38 percent of the population trust it entirely. And in Moscow and in Leningrad—even 52 percent, and the figures are increasing from poll to poll. The church's greatest support is in the center of Russia and in Georgia. The Supreme Soviets of the republics are in second place in trust. Of those polled, 36 percent trust them fully. And 33 percent fully trust the central press, radio, and television.

[Savvateyeva] A sore subject today is trust in Ryzhkov's government.

[Zaslavskaya] Yes, in December 1989, 34 percent of the population expressed complete confidence in it, but in August 1990 it was 20 percent, and the last polls gave the figure of 14 percent.

[Savvateyeva] Thus, there is no definite force in society today that is capable of uniting a majority of the people with some kind of creative idea?

[Zaslavskaya] No.

[Savvateyeva] But the people do see some way out of this condition of general disintegration and depression?

[Zaslavskaya] Unfortunately, I would not say this. Rather they are all only seeking a way out, frequently asking each other what to do. There is also the fact that our people have gotten accustomed to depending on the state for everything, and the state, they say, "knows better" how to resolve these problems. And this is not because they are inherently passive. Social relations have made them this way. How did we live? Although not very well, and poorly, the "state" provided housing and daily bread. This did not require the display of any special personal initiative—the main thing was to stand in line and wait. What was most frightening was: The ability to assert oneself independently in life atrophied in the individual, because it was superfluous in our system. As a result, a majority of the people became helpless and passive, and as a result parasitic attitudes became prevalent. Research shows that a majority of our citizens is convinced that it is not they who should resolve the main part of their living problems, but first and foremost state organs.

[Savvateyeva] And are there many people in society who are capable of opposing the general chaos and alarm through their own activeness, enterprise, and energetic drive? And are there enough of them to stabilize the situation in the country somehow?

[Zaslavskaya] Let us look at answers to this question: "Would you yourself like to engage in entrepreneurial activity?" Approximately 32 percent of the urban population and somewhere around 38 percent of the rural population gave positive answers.

[Savvateyeva] Interesting: Rural residents turned out to be more active potential entrepreneurs?

[Zaslavskaya] Well, land, land. The peasant and the land—this is a special and organic tie. To this 38 percent, another 14 percent of the rural residents could be added who say that, in general, they would like to be independent bosses, but they do not trust the state. As a result, a rather big figure is arrived at, but, of course, it is abstract. And it does not in any way mean that 52 percent of the rural population will there and then rush into private business as soon as you give them the freedom. The answer to this question can be considered indicative: "Why are you not doing this now?" Only eight percent of those polled replied that this is impeded by the lack of an appropriate law (the analysis was conducted before the adoption of the law on property and land). It can be assumed that this eight percent in the first place could become farmers. But real behavior does not always correspond to words and intentions. Based on experience, it can be judged that under favorable conditions practically half of these eight percent could follow through on their intentions. If you consider that the rural population in our country constitutes about 100 million persons, then this means that about four million persons could become farmers, or just as many as there are in the United States.

[Savvateyeva] Thus, to move things off dead center, there is a need for economic laws that are sound and work well. In this connection: Is the "500 days program" getting support? And, in your opinion, what are the prospects for its realization?

[Zaslavskaya] To the question: "Do you personally approve or disapprove the program of the Shatalin group," our questionnaire respondents answered this way: "Approve"—36 percent, "disapprove"—12 percent, "not familiar with it" and "difficult to answer"—52 percent. And this is understandable. A significant part of the population cannot discern the professional subtleties of the various economic programs. But of those who have a personal opinion, there are three supporters for each one opposed.

[Savvateyeva] In the situation that has evolved, is there a chance that the Russian Government will successfully implement "500 days" on its territory?

[Zaslavskaya] In principle, Russia has great capabilities to influence the center with the power, cohesiveness, and decisiveness of its government. But I was surprised by the fact that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet accepted the increase in purchase prices declared by the Union Government as a given and even tried to do this earlier itself. Such a position, following in the wake of Union policy, in my opinion, was a mistake. It is possible in this way to lose a very important advantage that the Russian leadership now has: a leading as well as a radical resolution of problems and a consistently championed independence. Of course, a Yeltsin and Gorbachev alliance is needed. People simply will feel relieved when their confrontation ends and the hope appears for joint action. But most important of all is what these actions might be.

[Savvateyeva] There generally is opposition to the center not only of Russia, but of other republics as well—please tell us to what extent this alarms the country's inhabitants, and what do they think about this?

[Zaslavskaya] Of course, bloody interethnic conflicts evoke sharp condemnation. And many, as I have already said, perceive the collapse of the state with gloom. But along with this, there is a growing understanding: The process of the relative setting apart of the republics is an objective process.

[Savvateyeva] As far as I understand it, there is an analogy here with the individual. Sociologists state that in the period of formation of one's "I", not only individual personalities but even whole communities of people strive to detach themselves, to put themselves in opposition to others, and to realize their own independence, which is happening now. This is an objective process, it should not be feared, and especially it should not be hindered by force. It makes no difference, nothing good will come of it as a result. This is a kind of

children' disease in growing up, which must not be beaten with a stick, but treated skillfully and carefully.

[Zaslavskaya] Of course. Especially because many things bind our republics. But now when it is a question of rescue and of survival, it should be taken into account that individual republics are much more active and flexible than the huge Union. In addition, the leadership of the republics is closer to the people. They trust it. I recall that in 1980 we tried to explain: Why, given the same administrative mechanism in the Baltics, was agricultural efficiency much higher than in Russia. So, one of the secrets was that in the small Baltic republics societal integration was incomparably greater than in the enormous Russia, not to mention the Union. You talk about the minister of agriculture, and he has a brother who is the chairman of a kolkhoz [collective farm], and another brother is a researcher or a journalist. And all of them associate with each other and have common views. This kind of a national, limited small "community" is very united and is permeated with great mutual respect.

[Savvateyeva] Tatyana Ivanovna, when we talk about economic renewal, then we apparently have in mind, first of all the renewal of entrepreneurial activity and the formation of private property. But this is hindered not only by the absence of sound economic laws. It is no secret that it is also very difficult for today's entrepreneurs psychologically. Overcoming the socialistic leveling consciousness is the paramount problem.

[Zaslavskaya] The striving for wage-leveling in the people's conscience is still very strong. Approximately one-third of the population is oriented on leveling values. Housing is a typical example. A majority of those polled feel that strict uniformity of the housing norm per capita, regardless of income and other factors, would be a fairer approach to the housing problem. Whether poor or rich, you receive "according to the norm," and not more. Although in a majority of the developed countries, housing is a commodity like clothing, furniture, and food, and each family itself decides what part of income to spend on housing, and what kind of apartment to rent and in what area. The transition to a market in our country inevitably will lead to the formation of a housing market, and it will increase the freedom of the Soviet individual in the choice of housing conditions. There should be equality in access for all population groups to one type of housing or another, in the price of apartments, and in payment conditions, but not at all in the number of square meters per person. For the state does not set norms for the number of suits or plates per family member.

And here are figures that show the population's attitude toward the new entrepreneurs—cooperators, leaseholders, and others. Approximately three-fourths of those polled are against them, and only a fourth somehow "condone" their existence. Of course, behind this is not only the attitude toward the form of economic management—cooperatives, for example—but also toward specific cooperators who actually rip you off for commodities that are not of very good quality. It is true that a certain softening in attitude toward this strata of people is observed of late.

[Savvateyeva] Well, there is hope that economic reforms will help strengthen the honest entrepreneur both in life and in the confidence of the citizens?

[Zaslavskaya] Only what will they be?

ZNAMYA Trial Delay Criticized

91UN0219B Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 43, 26 Oct 90 p 21

[Statement by Press Group of USSR Writers Union Secretariat: "Postscript to a Trial That Has Not Taken Place"]

[Text] The judicial finding on the dispute between the USSR Writers Union on the one hand and the editorial office of the journal ZNAMYA together with the USSR State Committee for Publishing [title as published] and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press and the Mass Media on the other.... Numerous articles and television interviews are attempting to screen the essence of the issue with details that are not germane to the case and to confuse writers and readers with a mass of observations and opinions that distort the truth.

We should, for a start, outline more precisely the positions of the parties in the light of the Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media."

For the leadership of ZNAMYA the main stronghold and bulwark in the legal dispute is Article 7 of this law. It provides for the right to establish press organs for all who so desire: the founder may be an artistic union, the work force of any enterprise, and an individual citizen. All is fine, it would seem, and the era of true freedom of the press approaches. Found it, think up your journal's name, and off you go!

However, the editorial office had a distinctive understanding of the law: The journal, which was founded long ago, belongs not to those who founded it but only to those who at this moment work on it. Editorial office staff exclusively determine its fate and have the right to its old catalogue name. It is they who decide whether ZNAMYA will be an organ of the USSR Writers Union or not. They decide what to do with any profits there are from the sale of an issue. Such is the position of the journal's editorial office, and it took shape long before all the negotiations with secretaries of the USSR Writers Union Board on the status of the journal. Here is graphic evidence. In the morning of 1 August of this year employees of the USSR State Committee for the Press, early for work, saw here, at the entrance, as they opened the doors of the building, Comrade Baklanov, chief editor of ZNAMYA. It was the first day that the press law was in effect and the first attempt to register the journal as an independent organ.

This attempt was unsuccessful inasmuch as the USSR State Committee for the Press understood that, in accordance with the law, artistic unions also have a right to establish their journals and that in respect of the press organs which were already operating it was sufficient for the Writers Union to draw up the certificate of registration. The editorial office then appealed to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and the Mass Media, although the joint establishment of the journal was discussed, and positively, what is more, at the negotiations between Comrades Karpov and Baklanov.

The republic ministry then issued a document on ZNAMYA's registration and thereby blocked registration of the journal in the USSR State Committee for the Press as an organ of the USSR Writers Union. Two journals cannot appear under the same name....

Such is the legal knot and the whole gamut of violations of the press law and the USSR Supreme Soviet decree on the introduction of this law. In this situation, shunning further false interpretations and outbursts of newspaper emotions, the Writers Union resolved to remove the situation from the plane of mutual recrimination and reproaches and to resolve the civil dispute comprehensively, at the legal level, as is customary in any civilized society.

As can be seen from what has been written, the complaint against the USSR State Committee for the Press is that without valid reason the registering body did not issue within the statutory one month's time a certificate of registration for the ZNAMYA journal as an operating all-Union organ of the USSR Writers Union. Accordingly, the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and the Mass Media did not have the right to register the all-Union journal as a republic journal, by which it violated Article 8 of the press law.

A third party to the case is the ZNAMYA editorial office. The editorial team went beyond the framework of Article 7 of the press law. Yes, any outfit has the right to establish a press organ. But [begin bold]establish[end bold] means, according to all Russian language dictionaries, to found and create something new which has not previously existed. The ZNAMYA journal, however, was not founded by its present staff, and its reputation has been created by generations of journalists and authors and members of the USSR Writers Union. The artistic union has, at the least, no less right to its own press organ than the editorial team. The press law gives no one a preferential founding right, and the editorial office has simply appropriated it.

In addition, the ZNAMYA editorial office violated that same Article 8 of the press law, converting it at a stroke from an all- Union into a republic organ. In a word, the champions of a state based on the rule of law have done their work well.

Why did the court session investigating this case appointed by the Moscow Municipal Court for 19 October not take place? Ascertaining relations in legal form earlier had been prevented by G.Ya. Baklanov's overseas travel plans. October 19 was scheduled as being a convenient date for him. But Baklanov did not show up for the session on the 19th either. The court received a letter which observed that the chief editor of the journal would be overseas 14 through 20 October, but granted no one the right to conduct the trial and, in view of the importance of the case, would like to conduct it personally. To the judge's question as to who officially was acting chief editor during the latter's absence, the answer was given: no one.

The people's court tried to ascertain when Baklanov would be able to find the time for the solution of a question to which he himself attaches great importance. It transpired that the chief editor's overseas travel plans are so taut that there could be no question of a trial before the November holiday. The high court tried to talk about mid-November, but this attempt was cut short by ZNAMYA's attorney: he, the attorney, would be on leave until the start of December, and without him, well, you yourselves understand.... It was all plain enough to the court. December 4 was agreed on—this year, at least. Thus there has been a "net" gain of two months. It is not difficult to make a further forecast: In place of the "third party" in court on 4 December there will be a written excuse on medical grounds. But other methods of evading an objective legal investigation may be invented also. Meanwhile the weather vane of public opinion could very likely turn in the right direction.

And the journal will be increasingly "lost" to the Writers Union. Is it now clear why there has been no trial? Writers, respond! Your journals and newspapers are being taken away....

Znaniye Society Plenum Held

PM0711164590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report from feature prepared by B. Pipiya from PRAVDA, TASS, and USSR KGB reports under general heading: "Telephone, Teletype, Telefax"]

[Text] Moscow—A plenum of the all-union "Znaniye" society has adopted a resolution on convening an extraordinary congress in January next year. The plenum relieved Academician N.G. Basov of his duties as chairman of the board at his request and Academician K.V. Frolov was made acting chairman.

Republics Raise Ethnic Issues at Conference

PM0711161790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by Yu. Makhrin: "Defending Human Rights"]

[Text] That was the leitmotif of the scientific-practical conference held in Moscow 2 November. It was held by the organizational committee of the country's international movements and the USSR Philosophical Society.

Plenary sessions were held and work was conducted in three sections. Representatives of the international movements of Latvia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Moldavia [as published], and other republics spoke. They analyzed the state and prospects of the international movement.

As is well known, today over 60 million Soviet people are living outside the boundaries of their national formations. The speakers spoke with anguish of how in many union republics the citizens of nonindigenous nationalities are being oppressed and "squeezed out." Here and there there have been calls to the effect that if you don't like it, get out and go to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Laws are being adopted which turn the Russian-speaking population into second-class or third-class people.

The participants in the forum proclaimed as their main aim the consolidation of the international movements' actions on the basis of the following principles: equal rights for all nations, a socialist choice for society's development, a federative union of republics. Proposals were supported for the creation of an all-union council of the country's international movements, for a demand that the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets guarantee the observance of human rights in the country, and for the acceleration of the adoption of a law on refugees.

Penalties for Breaking Airspace Regulations

PM0711125190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

["USSR Law on Penalties for Violating the Procedure for the Use of USSR Airspace"; words between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1: To make the following changes and addenda to the USSR Air Code ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 11 May 1983 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1983, No. 20, page 303):

1) The title of Chapter XI is to read as follows:

"Administrative Penalties for Violating the Procedure for the Use of USSR Airspace and the Use of Air Transport and Regulations Designed to Ensure Freight Safety";

2. Chapter XI is to be supplemented with Article 142 (1) as follows:

"Article 142 (1). *Violation of the Procedure for the Use of USSR Airspace*

"Violation of the procedure for the use of USSR airspace during aircraft flights, missile launching, all types of firing, and blasting operations, or during other activity involving the ascent, passage, or descent in USSR airspace of material objects will entail penalties of between ten and 100 rubles [R] for citizens, with or without the retributive removal or confiscation of the object used to commit the offense, and of between R20 and R200 for officials";

3) In Part 3 of Article 3 the words "Operation of Articles 11, 19, 25-29, 33-37, 39-65, 71, and 143 of this Code" are to be replaced by the words "Operation of Articles 11, 19, 25-29, 33-37, 39-65, 71, 142 (1), and 143 of this Code";

4) In Article 150 the words "provided for by Articles 143-149 of this Code" are to be replaced by the words "provided for by Articles 142 (1)-149 of this Code";

5) In Part 1 Article 152 the words "provided for by Articles 143-149 of this Code" are to be replaced with the words "provided for by Articles 142 (1)-149 of this Code."

Article 2. The USSR Law of 25 December 1958 "On Criminal Liability for State Crimes" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR 1959, No. 1, page 8) is to be supplemented by the following Article 22 (1):

"Article 22 (1). *Violation of the Use of USSR Airspace*

"Violation of the procedure for the use of USSR airspace during flights of aircraft manned by people who are not air transport workers, missile launches, all types of firing, blasting work, or during other activity involving the ascent, passage, or descent in USSR airspace of material objects that entails accidents to people or other grave consequences—

"is punishable by between two and ten years' imprisonment.

"The same actions, if they did not entail but knowingly posed the threat of the consequences envisaged in Part 1 of this article—

"are punishable by up to one year's imprisonment, correctional work for up to two years, or a fine of up to R300."

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 29 October 1990.

New Writers Union Paper To Be Published

91UN0219A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 42, 19 Oct 90 p 9

[Interview with A.A. Prokhanov, chief editor of DEN, by unidentified LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA correspondent; place and date not given: "DEN—New Newspaper of the USSR Writers Union"]

[Text] The USSR Writers Union Board Secretariat has adopted a decision to establish the new writers' paper DEN [The Day]. Aleksandr Andreyevich Prokhanov was appointed DEN chief editor and was subsequently confirmed as such at a plenum of the USSR Writers Union Board. A LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA correspondent talks with him.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] Aleksandr Andreyevich, permit me first of all to congratulate you on your new appointment.

[Prokhanov] Thank you.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] What was the reason for the "sudden" birth of the newspaper, which came as a surprise to many people? Is this not a challenge to the breakaway LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and an endeavor to counterpose the new publication to the "free writers' tribune," as LITERATURNAYA GAZETA now plumes itself?

[Prokhanov] It is not, of course, a challenge to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Although, undoubtedly, had it not been for the well-known action on the part of the editorial team of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, the question of a new newspaper publication would not have arisen. DEN—a newspaper born among a multitude of new periodical publications—essentially has no connection with the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA case, don't let the coincidental timing confuse you. We will create a newspaper with its own character and its own program and policy. We have two principal goals: expanding the communications possibilities of culture and literature and improving the financial position of the USSR Writers Union.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] Even so, Aleksandr Andreyevich, what is your personal attitude toward the very fact of the "withdrawal" of ZNAMYA, INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA from the aegis of the USSR Writers Union?

[Prokhanov] As a writer and a person connected with the structures of the Writers Union, I have a negative attitude toward this fact. It should not be forgotten that these publications were the property of the Writers Union and, consequently, the property of all of literature and a multitude of artists of the most diverse schools who created these publications bit by bit. After all, the property of a newspaper and journal is not simply paint and paper but intellectual potential also. A multitude of the components of this property were not taken into consideration for some reason or other. I cannot call this anything other than an act of expropriation. The withdrawal of financial resources, on the other hand, impoverishes the Writers Union and the Literary Fund. All 10,000 members of the union may be deprived of material support: supplements to their pensions, medical assistance, and privileged passes. Destroying the base of social safeguards is amoral. This is a blow both at the writers' organization and at each individual writer.

Nor will we forget that the editorial offices are motivated not only by commercial but also ideological reasons.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] And what is the concept of your newspaper?

[Prokhanov] I would like to emphasize once again that DEN will be absolutely asymmetrical in respect of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and that we do not wish for the gravitational field around LITERATURNAYA GAZETA to suck in our newspaper.

The concept of our organ is based on an understanding of the fact that today, when culture has become dreadfully politicized and when tears are occurring in the intricate fabric, much of what is not accommodated in opportunist politics is disappearing without trace in these tears. Each artist is original and deserves a distinct place in culture. This is the philosophy and policy of culture. The generality of writers, who constituted this intricate fabric, hoped that in the new situation they would be able to find their voice, but this, as the practice of five years has shown, has not happened. Each artist is a miniculture, and he frequently fails to find a place for himself in the stadium which is trampled down in the battle of "giants." Our newspaper will attempt to shape a multidimensional field of culture, without losing anything. Particular significance will be attached to the precious ferments of the national cultures. DEN will be hostile toward a vulgar-political attitude toward literature and culture. In this sense the newspaper will be a form of spiritual opposition to all that is debilitating and destructive and all opportunist antispiritual, anticultural policy.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] In our pragmatic age everyone is concerned with purely practical issues also.

[Prokhanov] The newspaper will appear as of 1 January in an edition of 150,000 copies in four pages of the PRAVDA format. We plan to publish five times a week. We are already behind with the subscription, of course, but we believe that as of the latter half of 1991 those who wish will be able to take out a subscription to our paper. The paper will be provided by the Writers Union. This is tonnage released thanks to the reduction in all newspaper print runs, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA included. We have also found printing facilities—the Writers Union Publishing and Printing Association—and premises—rooms at 30, Tsvetnyy Avenue. My own residence is the office of Syrokomskiy, former chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which I timidly entered 20 years ago as a young special correspondent.

Of course, we will encounter many difficulties. There is no editorial team as yet, and we are in need of gifted authors. We invite all who have something to say to cooperate with DEN.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] DEN is an unusual name for a writer's newspaper. Why did you decide on this precisely?

[Prokhanov] We did not want to insert in the name any word with a "writer's" connotation, it being sufficient for the inscription "Founded by the USSR Writers Union" to figure on the front page.

Everyone today has a perception of the close spiritual and social "night," the word "day" contains a contrast to the cheerless state of our souls. Day will come! There has to be day!

"Day" is a calendar and astronomical concept and is universal, cosmic, and neutral in relation to all being. The day accommodates all existence. But a day is also a fleeting moment of our life, and we want to be a current, living newspaper and to reflect the day-to- day state of our surrounding world. In a word, such a name as DEN greatly suits all of us.

[LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA] Very good, we wish the new publication success and will we wait and see what the coming "Day" has in store for us.

Publication Advertises for Final Subscriptions

PM0711162590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 First Edition p 1

[Letters and Mass Work Department report: "Choose Us and We Will Not Let You Down"]

[Excerpts] After passing the 31 October intermediate finishing post—which might have been the last had the Ministry of Communications not extended subscription until 15 November—the subscription campaign has entered the final stage. Although there is still no time to take a breath, have a rest, or look around, nonetheless let us see what we have as of 31 October. [passage omitted]

If you take into consideration the impending holidays, then it is just a matter of days until the end of the subscription campaign. That is why we are asking friends of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to make active use of these days for productive work. We recall that the annual subscription is 13.80 rubles [R], half-yearly subscription R6.9, and quarterly subscription R3.45. We further remind you that only subscription guarantees you the chance of reading ZVEZDOCHKA [diminutive for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA]. It is quite possible that the paper shortage will affect the number of copies allocated for retail sale. What is more an annual set of the newspaper bought from a kiosk will cost far more than the subscription set—namely R22.96.

Supreme Court Legal Journal To Begin Publishing

LD0811110190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] A new monthly magazine, THE USSR SUPREME COURT HERALD [VESTNIK VERKHOVNOGO SUDA SSSR], will come out starting January of next year. Readers will find in it articles by famous lawyers and material which is not only of use to those working for law enforcement agencies, but for everyone with an interest in the law. There are also plans to publish court reports, the original documents from the USSR Supreme Court archives of famous cases which happened long ago and not so long ago, historical detective stories, and literary works on a legal theme.

Antonovich Stresses Cooperation, Moderation

91UN0187A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by I. Antonovich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the RSFSR: "Facade and Inner Side—Comments on the Documents of the 'Russian Democratic Forum'"]

[Text] At the start of August of this year the leaders of the "Russian Democratic Forum" public organization distributed a document entitled "Action Program-90" at a news conference. It was actually talking about a coup d'etat by way of the creation of new authorities in the form of "civic action committees" and the torpedoing of the current social structures by means of "a revolutionary policy of emancipation and democratization" with the aid of organized mass action—mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing, strikes, civil disobedience campaigns, the unauthorized occupation of premises and so forth.

The call for "unauthorized privatization"—the forcible confiscation from the collective and state farms of land with the aid of special seizure groups—"squatter detachments" numbering up to 50 persons—which would usurp state land, declaring it their property, called attention to itself. The document also contained a program for removal of the CPSU from the political stage, the disintegration of its ranks from within, and other actions "in accordance with the methods devised by the leadership of the Democratic Platform." Add to this an aspiration to confiscation of the property of the trade unions, an intention to continue the destruction of monuments to the founder of our state, and promises to return the land and real estate "to whose who suffered previously," that is, the former landed gentry, and it becomes clear that the distribution of such documents with impunity would be impossible in any country of contemporary developed parliamentarianism. The authors would instantly be indicted there for anticonstitutional activity. With us, however, this is presented as a "democratic initiative." The extremist nature of the document forced even our dashing democrats to dissociate themselves from it and call the mere fact of it being made public, for form's sake, a "provocation of the CPSU."

Note: It is not the appearance of the document itself which is condemned but merely its publication. Denunciations of the CPSU were heard in this connection at news conferences both in the lobbies of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and in other establishments. Meanwhile the constituent congress of the "Democratic Russia" movement, at which in the course of quite a disorderly and largely chaotic debate many of the appeals which had been set forth in the "Action Program-90" were heard almost word for word, and formulated even more peremptorily, incidentally, was held in the Great Hall of the "Rossiya" Motion Picture Theater on 20 and 21 October 1990.

Had some leaders of democratic movements then dissociated themselves from this document to no avail?

The questions do not arise fortuitously, for a few days after the constituent congress of the "Democratic Russia" movement had concluded representatives of the organizing committee and some participants in the movement organized a news conference at which attempts were made once again at dissociation, this time from some of the ideas proclaimed at the constituent congress.

True, there was no rejection of the main thing: The congress had declared as its task the creation of an opposition on an anticommunist basis which was opposed to the CPSU and which quite specifically set as its task the destruction of the CPSU as a political force. And the words "destroy," "remove," "withdraw," "take away," "confiscate," and "nationalize" were predominant in the course of the debate.

A spirit of severance of relations was preponderant in the hall from the first hour of business of the congress through the last. Events developed according to the "they and us" pattern. The word "they" referred to the CPSU and the political structures associated with it, the word "us" referred to the congress delegates, who considered themselves, if not the sole, then "true," democrats. Many speakers addressed the hall with the word "gentlemen," thereby intensifying society's division into "gentlemen" and "comrades." One way or another, a bone of contention was being cast to society at a time when it is most in need of unification and civil concord.

As far as the composition of the congress is concerned, the information on this score is contradictory. Some newspapers report the participation of approximately 2,000 delegates, guests, and invitees. However, this information does not entirely accord with the number of seats in the "Rossiya" Movie Theater, where it was the stalls with 1,200 seats that were occupied, in the main. But this is not the point, of course, it is a question of the content of the debate and the decisions that were adopted.

The constituent congress was founding, it might have seemed, a Russian movement, but for the most part the discussion revolved around all-Union matters and the Union government. The speakers did not confine themselves to the single demand for resignation of the "Gorbachev-Ryzhkov" government but nominated candidates for the highest state office. And named their leaders also—Yeltsin, Sobchak, and Popov, who were not present at the congress, incidentally.

What is the essence of the program of positive transformations of a socioeconomic, political, and spiritual nature for the Russian Federation? What place does the movement assign itself in the work on stabilizing the economy, further pursuing reforms and renewing all aspects of our life? The congress was, alas, extremely poor in ideas.

"Democratic Russia" was formed as a movement for the immediate capture of power with the use of all forms provided by law and not so provided. The word "law" was virtually absent altogether. Instead, one heard continuously: "seizure," "confiscation." Manifestations of extremism and intolerance so inflamed the atmosphere that many of the delegates proved far more categorical in their utterances than even they wanted to be, possibly.

But let us turn to the documents that were adopted for they will, after all, be the basis of some organized actions. Mention should be made first, of course, of the statutes of the "Democratic Russia" movement. Analyzing their ideological, conceptual potential is extraordinarily difficult. They are very unusual statutes! They consist exclusively of organizational matters. They do not contain a single consummate formulation of the movement's goals.

The moral basis of the activity, which is composed of humanism, nonviolence, respect for the rights and dignity of the individual, denial of totalitarianism, and rejection of racial, national, and class exclusiveness, is merely declared. However, it was this moral basis that came in for much abuse during the debate, for many speakers called precisely for the opposite: social confrontation, destabilization, and a stepping up of the struggle for power, which would in itself engender violence and the trampling of the individual and bring the citizens of Russia unprecedented disasters.

The predominance of organizational-administrative and command principles, extremist appeals, and the absence of truly transformatory ideas represent possibly the biggest weakness of the constituent congress. It indicates a crisis of our young democratic movement, which has manifestly been held up at the start and has become carried away by declarations of a general nature and calls for dethronement. And when the time has come to work in earnest, the organizers of the movement are endeavoring to keep society at the mass-meeting stage, prolong its turnabout period, and push in the direction of chaos, improvidence, and a paralysis of power.

In actual fact, there were ideas, of course, and they were distributed by the participants in the congress as the programs of individual constituent movements, as the thoughts of prominent figures of the democratic movement and so forth. Attention is called in this sense to a version of a declaration of the "Democratic Russia" movement prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences voters' club and MOSKOVSKAYA TRIBUNA.

The declaration begins with words to the effect that "the protracted decomposition of the communist system threatens to destroy the foundations of the existence of society and the individual." A theoretically groundless initial precept. We have, after all, declared repeatedly that we have not as yet built not only a communist system but socialism itself. It cannot, therefore, be a question of the decomposition of what does not exist.

Asserting that "the total disintegration of statehood and a paralysis of power at all levels are imminent," MOSKOVSKAYA TRIBUNA declares: "The supporters of a new iron order are pushing the country toward the infinite and inciting social and national discord, believing that a people brought to the edge will themselves yearn for a strong hand."

I would like to dwell on these words. The time has come to give notice for all to hear of those responsible for all this. The country has reached a mortally dangerous point in its history, beyond which both the disintegration of statehood and the paralysis of power at all levels are, indeed, possible. Only it is incomprehensible how merely the administrative command system may alone be to blame for this. In many of their publications the supporters of the "Democratic Russia" movement have acknowledged that the administrative command system has been destroyed. Might new culprits of our disasters have appeared after over five years of persistent struggle and labor and trial and error called perestroyka?

It would seem obvious to us that the bulk of the misfortunes being experienced by society currently have been brought about not by the central authorities, whose influence has diminished, but by the fact that the evolved relations of centralized control of the country have been destroyed and that national and personal egotism and the personal ambitions of a number of leaders of republics and regions have pushed them toward separatism, local preference, and the counterpoise of their interests to those of society as a whole. It only appears that it is today possible in one republic to decide not to supply 2,000 tractors to Union reserves and on this basis it will be possible to immediately earn some additional monies, or to hold back compulsory supplies of raw material for a neighboring oblast and immediately grow rich on this.

There have been many examples of such separatism and economic ad-libbing in the past three years, yet well-being in all regions of the country is not increasing but declining. What is going wrong here? The point is that under the conditions of the existence of a single operational economic system, nationalist separatism harms not only other regions but also itself primarily. As soon as it is manifested in one place, it causes a retaliatory reaction in another. This is the main source of the disruption of economic and social relations. The specific culprits may be named also: They are no longer in the central government but in a number of local authorities, from republic through district even. The number of subjects of the negative situations has multiplied: There are among them not only the old forces, which are resisting perestroyka, but also the democratic forces, which have come to power and have been unable either to master experience or formulate new forms of control of the regions.

Is there a way out of this situation? It is difficult to answer this question unequivocally today. In any event, the USSR Supreme Soviet has approved a single economic program of transformations, and a single economic space, which could restore the suspended ties and once again compel our economy to operate in a sufficiently satisfactory rhythm to ensure positive dynamics toward a way out of the crisis, is being recreated on its basis.

Yet the authors of the declaration find no version of a solution of the problems other than "self-organization" and "mass public movement," which, together with the new democratic authorities, will assume the fullness of responsibility for the country's present and future. The question arises: What is preventing the fullness of responsibility being assumed where democratic forces have already come to power? The paradox is the fact that the new leaders are themselves longing for strong, authoritarian power! Not that long ago the chairman of the Moscow City Soviet complained in an interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that he lacked authority and that it was essential that he have "a mechanism of strong administrative coercion," in other words, an "iron hand" was needed.

Speaking at a prestigious international economics seminar in Moscow, the chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet declared not that long ago that he would create a class of private owners which would be the support of the new authorities. Could this be the whole problem? The local soviets, which took power because this mandate was given them by the electorate, are today seeking other "sponsors." And other than the representatives of private capital they are nowhere to be found. Yet the elected are required to defend primarily the interests of their electorate....

In evidence here is one further manifestation of the crisis of our young democratism. If today we correlate the instructions of the electorate which were given at the time of the election campaign to its future deputies and also the promises that were made here by the candidates themselves with the behavior they have revealed following election to executive office in the soviets, the picture is very depressing. Many local soviets of the republic and oblast level have begun their program not with an ascertainment of the actual social and economic situation and not with a search for its causes and the development of means of a solution, but with political struggle for influence on the Union government, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and so forth.

A dispute with the highest authorities has swallowed up the forces of many highly interesting representatives of the democratic movements. But if they, these highest authorities, attract to this extent, what was the point of agreeing to the office of mayor of a city, where the most urgent problems are trade, transport, street- cleaning and other dull prosaic matters. But if you have agreed, be responsible! Some 23 people's deputies of the USSR, 104 people's deputies of the RSFSR, and many deputies of local soviets attended the constituent congress of "Democratic Russia." They should have been instructed to

concern themselves more with the cities and villages of Russia and their difficult problems. Nothing of the sort! The discussion at once proceeded "at the top"....

Yes, we speak better than we work. But words have their own inertial force: One acerbic word brings about another, and an ill-considered statement is replaced by an extremist slogan. There was much of all this at the constituent congress also. Take the resolution "The Right-Wing Danger." This records in black and white that the outdated totalitarian regime is attempting urgently to change the coloring from red to brown. If it is considered that all representatives of the "Democratic Russia" movement have hitherto connected the CPSU with the totalitarian regime and have declared it responsible for this regime, this charge is addressed to the CPSU.

But would it not be blasphemous to level such a charge at the CPSU? It is, after all, common knowledge that the communists took a considerable part in the organization of the country's resistance and victory in the Great Patriotic War. Hundreds of thousands of them perished on the front lines of attack and defense, and their bones are at rest in numerous nameless graves together with other citizens of the country.

And, further, can we agree with the categorical appeal of the participants in the constituent congress for a struggle against all compromise in the soviets and concentration on the realization only of particular election programs? After all, parliament exists to seek concord, not to urge parties into inhumane and eternal confrontation! This has always been obvious, one would have thought. But even the very aim of the RSFSR's secession from the Union and the subsequent breakup of the Union are presented by the documents of the constituent congress as a powerful means of pressure on the Union government and an attempt to influence it from a position of strength. It is everywhere a question not of cooperating but "pressuring," "forcing," and "compelling" acceptance of its programs and positions, not of struggling for them by the democratic path.

I am afraid of being unfair, but how otherwise may we interpret the calls for strikes, political stoppages, hunger strikes, and civil disobedience? Do our democrats know what civil disobedience means? After all, civil disobedience is not simply a struggle by parliamentary means, it is an attempt the halt all social processes, break up social life, and destroy the socium [sotsium]. It means not only trains which have stopped running but also inoperative schools and closed hospitals, disobedience to the law enforcement authorities, general protest, anarchy, and madness. It means an explosion at all levels, as a result of which nothing is left of society.

Thus the main line of the "Democratic Russia" movement is defined, for all that: aggressive confrontation and dissociation, the continued buildup of mutual recrimination, the nurturing of grievances and, finally, pseudo-democratic banter. The target of the attacks is the CPSU.

What should be done? A sharp confrontation is possible, of course. But something else is possible also: operating via the recently elected parliamentary structures, however imperfect, seeking civil accord on the basis of a well-developed common program of socioeconomic reforms. It is this path that would seem profitable to us. No program of socioeconomic and social transformations, whatever solemn promises it makes and however compelling it might look on paper, will be realized unless it is accepted by the people.

The very concept of "people," however, not to mention their problems and their needs, was altogether absent from the constituent congress debate. Yet here is the basis for the interaction of all parties and movements. We need to work together. We need, finally, to understand that we should be thinking not about ourselves but about the society in which we live. It is necessary, finally, to understand that whether we have a hostile attitude toward our history or not, we have all come from our profaned past. Those of us who joined the CPSU when this was advantageous and who subsequently left it when this ceased to be so, those of us who have remained in it, those who never joined it, those who have fought against it their whole life—we are all children of one era, one country.

This needs to be always remembered, for if it is possible to preserve our society democratically and create stable democratic foundations of its progress, this means that we will all have to live together and struggle against one another by legitimate and lawful methods and means and conduct a struggle of ideas, not people.

So let us act together and help one another, correcting one another. There has been, is, and will continue to be political struggle. This is a rule of democracy. But it needs to be conducted within the framework of the Constitution, not outside it, and should mobilize people not for the destruction of the existing civil society but its reinforcement. Then this society will be in a position to perfect its constitution, develop laws further, strengthen the legal system, and thereby ensure the full flowering and difference of opinion of all its creative forces prepared to work for its good.

Economic

Instability Hampers Quest for Foreign Funds

PM0711151590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS Observer B. Grishchenko "Economic Review": "Credits and Confidence"]

[Text] It is perfectly obvious that we cannot implement the transition to the market without foreign credits. The issue lies elsewhere—who can grant us the billions that

the country, tormented by shortages, could use to purchase food, medicines, and the most essential goods and on what terms.

The question of providing aid to the USSR will be decided at the upcoming EC session after the preparation of an appropriate report by the IMF. Why is the attraction of foreign capital into our domestic market running up against appreciable and growing difficulties?

The answer to that question can be provided by a recent statement by Mr Crosbie, Canadian Minister of International Trade, who put things in tough and unequivocal terms in an interview with CANADIAN PRESS: "The Soviet Union and its 15 republics must rapidly settle their political and economic disputes. Otherwise they can say goodbye to Western investment. Business hates uncertainty."

London's THE TIMES, an influential and well informed paper, noting that the EC, albeit cautiously, prefers the economic reform program proposed by President Gorbachev, believing this program to be more realistic than the others, although "the economic collapse and growing instability in the Soviet republics do not enable the Community to offer the USSR significant aid." [sentence as published]

I recently talked with a Finnish businessman who has worked for many years in the Soviet market. We are confused: We do not know whom we should deal with, and everybody is trying to grab a bigger share for themselves, hampering each other and foreign partners, he says.

One can only agree with the following assessment: The political instability is breeding chaos in the economy. Certain republics are spending the remnants of hard currency on printing their own money and are organizing customs barriers inside the country with a persistence worthy of some better use.

It looks as though, after decades of omnipotence of the "center," including in investment policy, our society has rushed to the other extreme—before our very eyes the country is being turned into a conglomerate of "minimarkets" with which serious partners have no wish to deal. Especially as these centrifugal processes are developing against the background of European integration, when the EC is now seriously preparing to switch to a single currency system. Of course, it is impossible to combine two diametrically opposed approaches.

The separate attempts by the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets to seek out serious foreign sponsors in order to resolve the cities' acute problems also have apparently not produced any substantial results. One of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet, for instance, "brought" from Tokyo $1 million to purchase goods and products for Muscovites, or so he said. This loan amounts to about 10 cents per resident of the capital.

The other day the Television News Service commented scathingly on A. Sobchak's meeting with representatives of the Washington administration: The White House shook the outstretched hand, but put nothing in it, the presenter said.

Civil harmony, consolidation, and stability in the present situation are, as it were, the economic guarantee of the country's future. Every constructive and honest person can and must grasp that.

Pre-1917 Debt Repayment Advocated

PM0811105690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 p 3

[A. Vasilyev article: "Our Heavy Debts; It Seems That We Will Have To Repay Russia's Pre-1917 Debts"]

[Text] Here is another victory for the "new thinking"—M.S. Gorbachev's triumphal visit to Spain and France.

Both the Soviet press and the foreign press have commented amicably on the visit. M.S. Gorbachev concluded advantageous agreements and secured financial assistance for the Soviet Union. The French newspaper LES ECHOS also was content: "...Mikhail Gorbachev made a sensational gesture with regard to repaying Russian loans. This is undoubtedly a consequence of repeated statements in favor of respecting international law. For political regimes can change, but countries still remain bound by the treaties of their predecessors. This is a kind of means of guaranteeing the Soviet Union's return to the community of civilized states. On this plane the Soviet leader wins the game. During every visit of his to the West he reaps another harvest of good intentions. The latest on this list are Spain and France."

This is nice, is it not? However, where is the "sensation"? For the press seems to have covered the Soviet leader's European trip in detail.

I pick up the Treaty of Concord and Cooperation between our countries, signed during that visit, and I read in Article 25: "The Soviet Union and France pledge to reach agreement as quickly as possible on the settlement of financial and property counterclaims concerning the interests of individuals and corporate bodies in both countries."

I will have to turn again to LES ECHOS for help: "Article 25 of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Concord and Cooperation is to pour balm on the souls of holders of Russian loans. Approximately 12 billion francs [Fr] in gold were obtained by czarist Russia during the period from 1822 through 1917. After the October revolution Russia stopped repaying that debt, which is calculated at Fr240 billion at today's exchange rate."

It turns out that France has a National Association for the Protection of Holders of Russian Bonds, which includes 6,000 descendants of those who once bought them. In all, there are 3 million of these bonds in France.

It is, of course, possible to agree on the partial payment of debts incurred under the "old regime." This, incidentally, is how we resolved the matter with the British: The accepted rate of repayment stood at 10 percent of the nominal value. If it is possible to reach a similar agreement with the French, then, in the opinion of specialists, Fr450 will be paid out on each bond, i.e. R1.35 billion in all. I will remind you that the financial assistance to the Soviet Union, on which M.S. Gorbachev managed to reach agreement in Paris, will total Fr5 billion.

It is not a question of paying or not paying. It is a question of ensuring that everything is clear to everyone and understood by everyone.

Economic Reform Initial Stages Begin

PM0711164790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Zhuravlev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, by S. Karkhanin, place and date not given; under the rubric "Ahead of the USSR Supreme Soviet Discussion": "The Price of Winning Through"]

[Text] "The stores are still empty, the prices of products on the market are rising, and nobody has seen any compensation in their wages," Nalchik deputy L. Zhigunova told the USSR Supreme Soviet a few days ago. Her words will probably be mentioned again in mid-November, when the debates on the State Plan and budget for 1991 begin in the Union parliament. The initial stage of the economic reform promises to be particularly difficult. Will it prove possible to get through it without social upheavals? This is pondered in conversation with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's political observer by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Zhuravlev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions and author of "Parallel Ruble" and "Temporary Chill," articles published in our newspaper which generated numerous reactions from readers.

[Karkhanin] Akeksandr Grigoryevich, one of the main obstacles in the way of reform is the growth of multiple centers of power, a factor which cannot be disregarded when planning changes in the economy. The "sovereignty parade" has put the central authorities in difficult conditions necessitating essentially new approaches to planning. Have such approaches been found?

[Zhuravlev] Deputies have already received the text of the government report on the draft State Plan for 1991 for areas under USSR jurisdiction. Henceforth the Union elaborates a plan and budget only for the spheres of activity delegated to it by the republics. I am talking about defense; protection of the state border and customs services; money supply; large-scale social, scientific, and technical programs—help for pensioners and young people; transportation; the power industry, including nuclear power; and, of course, space. Denationalization will also require expenditure: The inventorization of state property is impossible without a high-powered electronic information system, which has yet to be created. And, finally, the center has to guarantee people that they will receive a certain set of prime necessities, services, and products. This means that there could be a need for subsidies to enterprises that will produce cheap goods—for children, for example.

Everything else will be the concern of the republics; and they will have to bear the responsibility to the population for this. It will become clear who should be called to account for poor potato procurements or a shortage of socks for sale. I repeat yet again: We must all carry our own can. Local authorities must calculate how much they need of what and conclude direct contracts... So in the vertical context we intend to create a system of economic policy administration; economic administration links will be mainly horizontal. The vertical structure will then take on the role of a stabilizer and guarantor capable of helping out if there is a breakdown somewhere.

[Karkhanin] But there is still the problem of the budget deficit, which has got to be reduced one way or another. What does the draft plan propose?

[Zhuravlev] It cites a figure: 85 billion as the approximate Union budget deficit, and an aggregate deficit for the republics today of 180 billion rubles [R]. Making a total of around R270 billion—around one-fourth of gross national product. New sources of income need to be sought, of course, but it also probably time for us to live within our means, to cut our coat according to our cloth. I don't understand why a law on leave provision needs to be adopted at the center: Let the republics determine who should have how much leave on the basis of their own capabilities.

In a market friendship is all very well, but what really counts is money. If there are some economically backward regions in need of help, let us set up appropriate programs. But it is essential for the region, and everybody else, to know who is going to help it and for how long. There are already around 30 sovereign states on the territory of the USSR, so let them not only adopt declarations but also assume certain economic commitments to their inhabitants. Let them put their money where their mouth is...

[Karkhanin] Increasingly often you can hear it said that the republics will be able to survive without trouble by trading in their own resources. Some places have coal, others have diamonds. If they were sold at world prices is it not obvious that there could be big money to be made?

[Zhuravlev] People intending to sell their future simply do not think about the consequences. I believe that the rules governing the sale of strategic resources need to be elaborated on a joint basis and strictly fulfilled. Otherwise a region will simply "fritter away" the proceeds and

next day will be destitute again and asking for help. No new technologies, no cadres—the things without which you can't overcome backwardness.

In my view, relationships within a renewed Union must be built on three principles—stringency, justice, and benevolence.

So if we don't get a "love match" between the republics in the Union we will have to have a "marriage of convenience." We need each other. The "Basic Guidelines" include the exhortation: "You can't give us the resources, so give us independence!" Although it cannot be ruled out that something astonishing could happen like in 1861. At that time many peasants refused to take land. Why? It transpires that the landowners may have humiliated them, but they at least fed them. It is easier to shout "Give us freedom!" than it is to make use of it. Freedom without responsibility is only a resounding slogan.

[Karkhanin] As yet economic reform has only made itself felt in talk about impending rises in public transportation fares. It is likely that in Moscow the subway will cost 20 kopecks instead of 5, and above-ground transportation is hardly likely to stick with the same fares.

[Zhuravlev] The growth of prices cannot be stopped, but it must be curbed and covered by appropriate compensation.

I think that if transportation is making a loss in all regions, fares should be revised centrally. And then compensation would be paid out of the Union budget. We are still dragging our feet here. Sectors operating at a planned loss are falling apart literally before our very eyes, and postponing the "operation" means making the ailment more difficult to treat. The Moscow subway is a graphic example. Penny-wise means pound-foolish. Prices of goods and services should be raised immediately, in my view, but—I stress—with compensation, of course.

[Karkhanin] Nevertheless, for all their logic such changes will hardly be greeted with enthusiasm... Many people are now pinning their hopes on a ration-card system. On the one hand, it promises at least some guarantees in the purchase of basic products and commodities. On the other, it is well known that in cities where a "house of ration cards" has been built everything soon disappears from the stores completely. Something like this happened with sugar in Moscow.

[Zhuravlev] We do we live badly? Because we spend a lot of time at rallies and not enough time working. We have very alarming figures for absenteeism and other violations of labor discipline. So will ration cards kindle in people a desire to work conscientiously? They pave the way to social apathy because they reactivate leveling. But if a proportion of goods and products is sold at commercial prices over the same counter, I fear the result could be a social explosion.

A ration-card system could be the detonator of the social dynamite that has already built up. Where are the goods vanishing to? Onto the "shadow" market. Look: Scientists, specialists, and highly skilled workers are leaving the country. But the people running the trade system have no wish to go: They are in paradise here! Ration cards give operators in the "shadow" economy an additional incentive for machinations. I am convinced that speculation will not be overcome by administrative measures alone; we need economic measures. In other words, the ruble must be urgently restored to health.

[Karkhanin] What about reform of the monetary system, by the way? You have made concrete proposals on this score in the Supreme Soviet and in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. There has been no audible response from the Ministry of Finance. Admittedly it was said on one occasion that such a reform would hurt the interests of, for example, a miner who has saved up R30,000 to buy a house...

[Zhuravlev] A man like that who could prove that his money was earned by honest toil would in fact be helped by reform. Without it he will soon discover that inflation and price rises have turned his R30,000 into R3,000... And the five-nine percent return on deposits now being offered will change virtually nothing because inflation, unless the ruble is urgently restored to health, will run into hundreds of percent. A "parallel ruble" looks like the only way out to me.

Commentary on Gorbachev Currency Decree

PM0811092690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Nikitin commentary under "Viewpoint" rubric: "Citizen Ruble and Mr. Dollar"]

[Text] The marathon of laws and decrees is picking up pace. Deputies and politicians are now carrying around fat files of drafts and amendments and capacious cases bulging from the weight of glossy papers. A series of decrees concerning financial policy has just been published. Readers have not managed to read all of them and the press has not managed to comment on all of them. And now there is the USSR president's new decree "On the Special Procedure for Utilizing Foreign Currency Resources in 1991." What precipitated it?

It would seem that a foreign currency problem did not exist in the country until very recently. At any rate, nobody obtained foreign currency or even knew what a dollar, lira, or pound sterling looks like. And that is not surprising. State monopolism engulfed all spheres of foreign economic ties.

Now it is clear to everyone, perhaps, that enterprises will not make the transition to the market by cutting themselves off from it with an "iron curtain" as before. And so many of them rushed through the recently half-opened door into the world market without understanding its essence and without having switched to their

own domestic market yet. And what happened? Piles of mistakes and new debts were notched up and sometimes rash agreements were concluded. In Italy Signor Piero Bassetti, president of the Milan Chamber of Commerce, told me that certain enterprises under his trusteeship are on the verge of bankruptcy because the Russians had broken contract deadlines, which had not happened before...

To lose the West's economic confidence, especially at a time when the market is coming into being, is to lose almost everything. The USSR president's decree was partly dictated by considerations of this kind. What apparently helped nudge him toward this step was his recent visit to Spain and France, where, as certain political observers think, our country managed to obtain credits virtually on the president's word of honor, on his... name. Confidence in politics is closely connected with problems of economics and vice versa. Remember how many countries K. Prunskiene visited, everywhere being politely received but simply returning empty-handed. And imagine for a minute that the 15 presidents of the USSR union republics set out all at once in search of credits. Who gets preference? How can these relations, at any rate now, be guaranteed?

Today currency is the economic face of the state, its economic honor. And a palm with fingers spread wide, even if there are 15 of them at once, finds it easier to squander gold than the palm alone. And perhaps currency is really needed in "special conditions" so that the world market can be faced openly and honestly and confidence is not lost.

It must be admitted honestly that nobody will remit former debts. For instance, Mr. Dollar remits nothing to Citizen Ruble: neither mistakes, nor delays, nor good intentions. What is to be done? It has been decided to create a union republic fund for the economy's priority requirements and the population's needs, while the Vneshekonombank [Foreign Economic Bank] is to clear foreign debts. This currency has to be earned. By whom? Enterprises, associations, and organizations, apart from enterprises backed by foreign capital.

And not simply earned but handed over or rather "sold" for rubles at the new commercial rate. Forty percent to clear off the country's foreign debt. Of the remaining currency earnings, another 90 percent to the union republic fund. And from what remains after that—10 percent to the funds of union republics and local soviets. Gratis? No, not completely: in return for a payment in rubles at the USSR State Bank's commercial rate. But who needs rubles at a time of inflation? Won't the dollar or, say, the pound sterling simply turn into just another "fistful of trouble?"

I will say bluntly that the harshness of this "stabilization measure" accompanying the transition to the market is such that at any time it can so "overstabilize" labor collectives' foreign relations as to become a restraint on the market. True, the operation of the decree extends only to 1991. But this is a considerable period. How can the interests of the state, republics, and enterprises be better coordinated if only for this time?

First and foremost the creation of a union republic currency committee is envisaged. And even today one can imagine how heads of union republics' governments forming the basis of this committee will behave in it. Will its chairman N.I. Ryzhkov manage to steer it toward unanimity, toward a compromise agreement of one kind or another? The war for banks in the Russian Federation has already shown the complexity of solving financial problems in market transition conditions.

Much in the president's decree is expounded thesis-style. This is understandable, because the USSR Council of Ministers is charged with adopting decisions which would implement the actual decree. We will certainly find in them the answers to many questions troubling our contemporaries—our potential Minins and Pozharskiys [popular heroes]. Questions troubling above all the nascent domestic businessmen on the one hand, and on the other the labor collectives getting to grips with the ABC of the market.

Who among them will become the most successful and able student of the market? Who will cross the stormy currency sea?

Kazan Plant Faces Conversion Difficulties

PM0711145990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Report by correspondents A. Gerasimov, I. Latypov, and Yu. Terekhov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Conversion, the switch of defense industry enterprises to the production of purely civilian goods, already involves more than 500 enterprises. But the transition itself is proving difficult and has given rise to a mass of problems.

[Correspondent] The current disruption of our economy compounded by the conversion of military production to civilian production has probably hit hardest the so-called "P.O. Boxes"—defense industry enterprises [so called because of their secret addresses]. In Kazan, the capital of Tatarstan, there are quite a few such enterprises. The results of conversion, for which no precise statewide program has as yet been compiled, are in evidence—more than 10,000 jobs have been cut, social appropriations have been sharply reduced, and the switch to the production of civilian goods is proving difficult.

It is obvious what Mansur Raimov, director general of the Kazan "Terminal" production association, meant when he said that the period of stagnation represented the heyday of the defense industry. Production discipline was up to the mark and contract deliveries were strictly adhered to.

And today? Judge for yourselves. More than 150 representatives of the association are constantly roaming the

country in an effort to obtain essential components from allied enterprises. They have even had to charter an aircraft for this purpose.

These boxes contain goods worth more than seven million rubles which have been lying around for more than a year because the client has not claimed them. Most of this equipment has been produced for the military department. Production of defense goods takes place under the state order, but surprisingly no one is responsible for the sale of goods produced under this state order—neither the ministry nor the Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. The boxes continue to gather dust in the yard, and soon there will be no money to pay the wages. Another problem is that by the end of October "Terminal" had managed to conclude contracts for the delivery of components covering less than 20 percent of the requirement. Yet this, after all, is a defense industry enterprise.

Thanks to its still-high intellectual and technological potential, "Terminal" has mastered the production of this piece of equipment—a YeS-7245 printer for personal computers. According to expert assessments, the printer corresponds to modern world standards and is compatible with virtually all foreign computers. However, the lack of suppliers' guarantees casts doubt on the mass production of this equipment which is in such demand.

The leaders of the association see the way out of this hopeless situation, which is characteristic not only of "Terminal" but also of many other military-industrial complex enterprises in the speedy adoption of a law on conversion by the country's Supreme Soviet.

Railways Ministry Explains Sugar Shortage

LD0511214290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Going on to economic news, I will read you a letter received by the editorial office today from the Ministry of Railways:

The ministry has taken under special supervision the dispatch and delivery of sugar to consumers. It has been established that the main reason for the sugar shortage lies in the deliberate reduction of sugar dispatch plans by suppliers while sugar is available in abundance at works' storehouses. There is evidence of an artificial aggravation of the current situation and a conscious accumulation of sugar at the storehouses of sugar works.

[Signed] Minister Konarev.

Pavlov Comments on Economic Transition

LD0611124190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Soviet Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov has made an official statement on the first steps of implementing the guidelines for economic stabilization and the transition to a free market. The Supreme Soviet recently adopted the anticrisis program. According to Mr. Pavlov, the transition will begin with measures designed to improve the financial system and reform prices along with the wage system. The program provides for gradually giving up control over the prices of goods and services, while keeping the prices of basic foodstuffs under government control. It's planned to increase wages, pensions, and student grants to prevent a sharp rise in the cost of living, said Mr. Pavlov.

Yuzhnoukrainsk AES Power Block Shut Down

914A0070A Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Nov 90 p 2

[Letter to the Editor from D.N. Molchanov, the Yuzhnoukrainsk prosecutor, jurisprudence councilor: "Help!"]

[Text] After the article "The 'Wheel-Spinning' Legal Suit" by P. Penezhko was published in the 16 September issue of the TRUD, our situation has grown worse.

Another power block of the Yuzhnoukrainsk AES [nuclear electric power station] was halted on 22 October. The reason cited was the same as for the first two that had already been stopped—cracks in faulty steam generators. Our losses have topped ten million.

The defective generators, as well as the ones that broke down in the Zaporozhskaya, Balakovskaya, and Novovoronezhskaya AES's were designed by the "Gidropress" experimental design office headed by the chief designer V.V. Stekolnikov, Hero of Socialist Labor, Doctor of Technical Science. The generators were manufactured at the Podolsk machine building plant.

The Yuzhnoukrainsk Procuracy recognized systematic production of faulty AES equipment as criminal, described in Article 152 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code, and on 25 October, 1990, it started legal proceedings and initiated an investigation.

The experts on nuclear power that came here continue to tell us stories, without naming those who are to blame of the accident. For that reason, we, the legal experts, have only one recourse left to us: We ask scientists and experts on design, machine building, physical metallurgy, strength of materials, corrosion under strain, ecology and logic to participate in a proper examination; we are asking it because on 9 October 1990, the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations officially refused to set up an independent expert commission.

We plan to start the examination on 11 November 1990 in the Procuracy of the city of Yuzhnoukrainsk (telephone numbers to negotiate participation are 2-11-50 and 5-14-72).

Stiffer Penalties Set for Speculation

PM0811114390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 Second Edition pp 1,2

["USSR Law on Increased Penalties for Speculation and Illegal Trade Activities and for Abuses in Trade"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In view of the intensification of negative phenomena in the consumer market and the exploitation of these circumstances in order to obtain illegal income, and in view of the need to increase penalties for speculation and abuses in trade in the period of national economic stabilization during the transition to a market economy, the USSR Supreme Soviet rules that:

Article 1. Speculation, that is, the buying up of goods for which state retail prices have been set from trade enterprises (organizations) and also other enterprises selling goods to the population, and reselling them at a profit
—carries a penalty of up to three years' imprisonment, with or without confiscation of property, or correctional labor for a period of up to two years with or without confiscation of property, or a fine of up to 5,000 rubles [R].

Repeated speculation, large-scale speculation or premeditated speculation by a group of people, or by a trade worker exploiting his official position
—carries a penalty of imprisonment for a period of three-seven years with confiscation of property or a fine of up to R15,000.

Speculation on a particularly large scale or committed by someone who has a previous conviction for speculation or by an organized group
—carries a penalty of imprisonment for a period of between five and 10 years with confiscation of property.

Article 2. It is laid down that part one of Article 1 of the present Law applies in cases where the profit is between R100 and R2,000.

Large-scale speculation means speculation where the profit is between R2,000 and R10,000; speculation on a particularly large scale means a profit in excess of R10,000.

Article 3. The sale of goods from warehouses and depots, from state trade (public catering) enterprises' (organizations') subsidiary premises and consumer cooperatives in violation of the established rules or concealment of goods from purchasers by a state trade (public catering) enterprise (organization) or consumer cooperative official, exploiting his official position
—carries a penalty of up to one year's imprisonment or the same term of correctional labor, or a fine of up to R1,000, with forfeiture of the right to occupy certain posts or perform certain activities.

The sale of goods from warehouses and depots, from state trade (public catering) enterprises' (organizations') subsidiary premises and consumer cooperatives in violation of the established rules or concealment of goods from purchasers, perpetrated as a result of collusion by a group of people or repeatedly by an official or on a large scale
—carries a penalty of up to three years' imprisonment with or without confiscation of property or correctional labor for a period of up to two years with or without confiscation of property or a fine of up to R5,000 with forfeiture of the right to occupy certain posts or perform certain activities for a period of up to five years.

The sale of goods from warehouses and depots, from state trade (public catering) enterprises' (organizations') subsidiary premises and consumer cooperatives in violation of the established rules or concealment of goods from purchasers, perpetrated on a particularly large scale or by people who have been previously convicted of crimes stipulated in this article
—carries the penalty of between three and seven years' imprisonment with confiscation of property and forfeiture of the right to occupy certain posts or perform certain activities for a period of up to five years.

Article 4. The large-scale sale and concealment of goods specified in Article 3 of the present Law means the sale and concealment of foodstuffs worth at least R500 or other goods worth at least R2,000 and particularly large-scale means goods worth at least R10,000.

Article 5. The artificial raising and maintenance of high prices for consumer goods by profiteers or other people by means of collusion, violence or threats of violence
—carries a penalty of up to two years' imprisonment with or without confiscation of property or a fine of up to R5,000.

The same actions carried out by someone who has been previously convicted of crimes stipulated in the present article
—carry a penalty of up to five years' imprisonment with confiscation of property or a fine of up to R10,000.

Article 6. Unlawful trade activity, that is, deals to buy and sell goods or other items while avoiding proper registration with the aim of obtaining profits that are not controlled by the state, if these actions are carried out after the imposition of an adminmistrative penalty for violating the individual labor activity procedure in the trade sphere or as a result of collusion by a group of people or at a large profit
—carries a penalty of up to two years' imprisonment with or without confiscation of property or correctional labor for the same period with or without confiscation of property or a fine of up to R5,000.

Illegal trading activities that are performed by an organized group, that make a particularly large profit which is not controlled by the state, or that are performed by someone who has been previously convicted of this crime or of speculation

—carry a penalty of between three and seven years' imprisonment with or without confiscation of property or a fine of up to R15,000, with forfeiture of the right to occupy certain posts or engage in certain activities for a period of up to five years.

Article 7. Large profit not controlled by the state, as envisaged by Article 6 of the present Law, refers to a profit of at least R3,000, with particularly large profit referring to a sum of at least R15,000.

Article 8. The sale at trade (public catering) enterprises owned by citizens or at cooperatives of goods allocated from state market stocks or acquired by them from the retail network, at prices exceeding the set retail prices for these goods, in breach of the established rules of trade

—results in an administrative penalty being imposed on the person who took the decision to raise prices, in the form of a fine of up to R1,000, with the goods being confiscated.

If the actions stipulated in part one of the present article are repeated

—an administrative penalty will be imposed, in the form of a fine of up to R3,000, with the goods being confiscated.

Article 9. It is stipulated that depositions on violations specified in Article 8 of the present Law should be drawn up by internal affairs organs' staff, tax inspection officials, or other officials authorized by soviets to do so.

Violation will be examined by people's judges, independently.

Pretrial preparation of materials on cases involving crimes stipulated in part one of Article 3 of the present Law is carried out in the form of depositions in accordance with the procedure laid down by union republic criminal procedure legislation.

The preliminary investigation of crimes stipulated in Article 1, parts two and three of Article 3, and also Articles 5 and 6 of the present Law is carried out by internal affairs organs' investigators.

Article 10. In connection with the adoption of the present Law, the following amendments and additions are to be made to the Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Administrative Offenses (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1980, No 44, page 909; 1987, No 22, p 312; 1988, No 31, p 506; VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1990, No 15, page 247):

in part two of Article 14 the words "fine of up to R300" are to be replaced by the words "fine of up to R3,000";

The words "and of the union republics" are to be added to Point 5 of Article 26 and part one of Article 30 following the words "legislative acts of the USSR."

Article 11. The present Law comes into effect on publication.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 31 October 1990.

Military

Pacific Fleet's Complement Supplemented

PM0711152590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent V. Palagutin report: "Fleet's Complement Supplemented"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 1 Nov—The Pacific Fleet's complement has been supplemented by two new ships: The guided missile cruiser Chervona Ukraina and the destroyer Bystryy dropped anchor in Golden Horn Bay today after completing a voyage from the Baltic and the Black Sea.

Rome Daily Interviews General Moiseyev

PM0811093490 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 6 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by Sergio Sergi; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow— [Sergi] What do 7 November and Vladimir Lenin represent for the military today?

[Moiseyev] In our country you can hear the most varied assessments of the events that 73 years ago changed the future of the whole world in a revolutionary way. I will not conceal the fact that a violent campaign is under way in the country against Lenin, Bolshevism, and the October Revolution, but also against the Soviet Government itself. Communists are being accused of every possible and imaginable sin. Different attitudes may occur with regard to the revolutions and events of history, but you cannot deny that Lenin was a unique historical figure, as both our friends and our enemies acknowledge. The global significance of the October as a very major turning point in the 20th century has long been unanimously recognized, even by the most extreme anticommunists. Now, on various pretexts, they are proposing to us to stop celebrating our country's principal state and national festival. You cannot dismiss the whole of history, whatever it may have been like; you cannot betray the ideals absorbed with mother's milk for the past several generations. Our state's birthday is among the most important of these traditions and to ignore it would be wrong, even criminal, with respect to future generations.

[Sergi] The Warsaw Pact member countries are to hold a crucial meeting in Budapest. Are the military alliance's days numbered? What will happen to the pact?

[Moiseyev] The changes taking place on the continent considerably increase the chances of guaranteeing security by political means, with an overall reduction of the level of military contraposition. Such an approach is in line with the new model of security for the present and the future—that is, a model based on the ideas of the new political thinking. The evolution of the political process on the European continent is forging ahead and actively influencing arms reduction treaties and forming a new European security system based no longer on the contraposition of the two opposing blocs but on collective measures to protect the interests of all those who adhere to the Helsinki process. It is within this framework that we are witnessing the change in the role and functions of the Warsaw Pact and its structures and functioning mechanisms. So, examining the future of the Pact, we assume that its military structures will be gradually transcended and that it will be transformed from a military-political alliance into a consultative political organization whose work and very existence will be subordinated to the creation of an all-Europe security system.

[Sergi] Do you believe that the USSR, following the changes that took place in 1989 in the leaderships of the Eastern bloc countries, now has fewer guarantees of its own security? I ask you this because some very authoritative people argue that its security has now increased. What is your Armed Forces' assessment?

[Moiseyev] In implementing our defensive doctrine we are transforming the entire defense system. The reform lies in adapting all the components of the state's defense capabilities to the new political and military thinking, to the USSR's military doctrine, to the concept of "reasonable sufficiency." It lies in a reduction and qualitative renewal of the Armed Forces. This is the very reason for our unilateral steps, for our initiatives to reduce troops and armaments. The nature and the scale of these reductions are known and there is no need to say much about them. In my opinion, the changes that took place in the East European countries in 1989 have nothing to do with this; on the contrary, they actually occurred, and are occurring, under the influence of the changes in the USSR, so logically they cannot substantially influence the USSR's security. Naturally, we take account of our security interests, so the reductions are not mechanical and are connected with radical changes in the Armed Forces' structure, training, and deployment, and with other matters. Within the context of these measures we are proceeding to the establishment of a new Armed Forces defense grouping within the USSR's borders. This grouping is deployed in such a way as to permit the guaranteed performance of tasks to repel an aggression from any source whatever. In other words, the changes that have occurred in Eastern Europe have been fully considered in our defensive action, and it can be stated with certainty that our country's security is being maintained at a properly high level.

[Sergi] How real are the anxieties within the military concerning Germany's unification? In Parliament some uniformed deputies have expressed their serious opposition to it.

[Moiseyev] Germany's unification is a result of the victory of the new political thinking, of the common sense of all the peoples of Europe and the world. Soldiers and sailors of the Soviet Army and Navy, including Armed Forces people's deputies, are an inseparable part of their people, and quite clearly their attitude to the matter must be examined very thoroughly. In the present stage of development of the situation there are differing opinions about Germany's unification. According to some people, the "German question," for obvious historical reasons, has been, and remains, a sensitive issue. Others, however, perceive in the federal government's guarantees and pledges a new Germany that has learned lessons from its history and that will in future direct all its efforts to guaranteeing stable peace, economic development, and social justice. In our opinion, this latter stance is more realistic and has more of a future.

[Sergi] The USSR has entered a very delicate stage of its transformation with the launching of the economic program for the transition to the market economy. What will be the specific contribution of the defense sector? How is the conversion proceeding?

[Moiseyev] The Soviet Union's active policy of peace and its understanding of the priority of political methods in ensuring the country's security have permitted real conditions for ensuring our state's defense in accordance with the principle of reasonable sufficiency. In the country military production is being implemented in practice with the prime aim of integrating and stabilizing the consumer goods market. The defense industry's role in satisfying the demand for consumer goods is considerable: It produces 100 percent of radios, television sets, tape recorders, and sewing machines; 97 percent of refrigerators; and 77 percent of washing machines. The draft state conversion program drawn up with the USSR Defense Ministry's help for the period through 1995 will make it possible to increase considerably its contribution to the normalization of the country's economy, satisfying the market for consumer goods. While the 1990 plan envisaged the production of consumer goods worth 39 billion rubles, in 1995, as a result of the implementation of the defense industry conversion pan, it is planned to produce R69-71 billion-worth, almost double. By 1995 the proportion of the defense industry's output accounted for by civilian products will increase to 65 percent from 42.6 percent in 1989. The defense industry's resources will make it possible to strengthen the economy's fundamental structures; will contribute to the technological rearmament of light industry, the medical industry, the agro-industrial complex, and trade; and will make it possible to produce high quality consumer goods. Already in 1990 the defense industry's enterprises

for the production of machinery for plants for the transformation of the agro-industrial complex will increase 50 percent over 1989, and in the case of trade by 20 percent. Hitherto conversion has involved 400 enterprises, and in half of these military output will be reduced by over 20 percent. In some of the factories preparatory courses are under way for the production of new goods and training courses for technicians, engineers, and workers. Legal regulations are being drawn up that will establish the juridical, organizational, and socioeconomic bases; the principles; and the special characteristics of the activities of the defense industry in the new situation. That is, when military orders are reduced or entirely stopped. Conversion is proceeding at full speed in the Defense Ministry's enterprises. In 1990 the volume of civilian technology repairs carried out in these enterprises will increase five-fold. It is planned to rebuild tanks to turn them into fire trucks and tractors.

Military Chiefs Sign Former General's Obituary

PM0811105390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of Lieutenant General (Reserve) A.P. Redko]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Anatoliy Petrovich Redko, participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died suddenly aged 63. He devoted his entire adult life to selflessly serving his socialist fatherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he was a member for more than 40 years. [passage omitted]

During the postwar period A.P. Redko graduated from Military Motor Transport School and from the Military Academy of Rear Services and Transportation. He began his officer service as commander of a cadets' platoon and subsequently held a number of command posts in the motor transport troops. For a long time he was chief of the Samarkand Higher Military Motor Transport Command and Ryazan Higher Military Motor Transport Engineering Schools. In all the areas with which he was entrusted, he proved to be an industrious, principled, and exacting leader and educator and enjoyed well-deserved prestige and respect among his service comrades. [passage omitted]

[Signed] K.A. Kochetov; V.N. Varennikov; V.M. Betekhtin; N.A. Moiseyev; M.P. Kolesnikov; V.F. Popov. A.A. Demidov; Ye.K. Krylov; S.A. Mayev; V.M. Mikhalkin; Yu.T. Chesnokov; M.Ye. Penkin; A.A. Galkin; V.P. Kuznetsov; S.V. Petrov; V.I. Litvinov; A.T. Klimov; N.V. Kalinin; A.I. Makunin; A.K. Burtsev; A.T. Smirnov; I.V. Balabay; N.A. Zazulin; V.V. Filippov; Yu.V. Vasilyev; V.A. Tregubenko; A.I. Vedeneyev; A.N. Dekush.

Baltic Republics

Paper Reviews Attacks on Military Units

PM0811110990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 First Edition p 8

[Report by TASS correspondent G. Kuchina under the rubric "Ticker Tape": "Pressure on Military"]

[Text] According to data published in the newspaper UTRO YURMALY, there were 14 attacks on posts, military columns, and military units involving the use of firearms in the three Baltic republics in October. One serviceman was killed and six were wounded as a result. Two of the attackers were killed—one in Lithuania and one in Latvia, in an attack on a sentry in Daugavpils on the night of 2-3 October. There have been cases of injury and trauma inflicted on servicemen and members of their families. Thus, in Lithuania on 27 June a group of young people threw rocks at the eight-year-old daughter of a Soviet Army officer. The girl received a serious head injury.

Another basic form of pressure on the military, the newspaper reports, is the so-called economic blockade of Army subunits. It is being used, for example, against an aircraft test area near Saldus and a helicopter regiment stationed near Jelgava. They have stopped supplying military units with power and water and canceled agreements with them for the supply of food, including bread, for the washing of laundry, etc.

Units stationed in Latvia's Ogrskiy, Madonskiy, Liyepayskiy, and other rayons have recently been notified by the authorities that school instruction for children of "the occupiers" will cease to be funded as of 1 January 1991. It is proposed that servicemen pay out of their own pockets for their children's education. Thus, according to an account tendered, a unit stationed in the settlement of Lielvarde, Ogrskiy Rayon, is supposed to pay more than 160,000 rubles [R], and R68,000 is being demanded of servicemen in Madonskiy Rayon. Let us note, incidentally, the writer states, that the aforementioned demands as yet have no legal basis in the form of corresponding parliamentary or governmental decisions.

Lithuanian 7 November Celebrations Reported

Landsbergis Criticizes Parade Plan

PM0711143790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Single Edition p 3

[Report by unidentified TASS correspondent: "Landsbergis Speech"]

[Text] Vilnius—In a speech on Lithuanian radio on 6 November V. Landsbergis, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, demanded the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from Lithuania. He explained his demand, saying that the military units on the republic's territory are allegedly behaving like an "occupying force, ignoring the laws that operate in Lithuania and disregarding the will of the local inhabitants and authorities."

Concerning the fact that a military parade is planned for Vilnius on 7 November, V. Landsbergis stressed that the organizers "have not applied to any organ of authority for permission to hold it" and the parade is being held "in breach of our laws and contrary to the will of the Lithuanian people."

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet chairman expressed the view that the military parade in the Lithuanian capital is being held not only for the purpose of "displaying weapons," but above all to "show who is boss and to intimidate the Lithuanian people, and perhaps even to provoke a clash or conflict."

At the end of his speech he once again urged the population to stay calm and preserve order and harmony.

October 'Ideals' Supported

LD0711235590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is a working day in Lithuania. On the eve of this day, the leadership of the republic and the city displayed their negative attitude toward the celebration of the October Revolution anniversary on several occasions. Gediminas Prospekt, where parades and demonstrations were held up until now, was recently blocked by cement flower urns. In a word, the situation around the square could not be described as simple. Mykolas Burokevicius, member of the CPSU Politburo and the first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania-CPSU who addressed the gathering, has called on like-minded people to be true to the ideals of October and the peoples' power and to join forces.

Members of the military parade marching along Gediminas Prospekt were received by people of various opinions. A large—by a working day's standards—demonstration started after the parade. Among the participants in the procession were workers from the capital's enterprises, activists of the Communist Party of Lithuania-CPSU city organizations, the civic committee, the socialist federation of the working people of Lithuania, veterans, young Communists, other Vilnius residents, and visitors of the Lithuanian capital.

20,000 March in Parade

LD0711212290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Roughly 20,000 Vilnius residents today paid their ritual tribute to the October Revolution anniversary. They assembled at Lukiskes Square, where security around the Lenin monument was strengthened last

night. A meeting there was addressed by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU), Mykolas Burokevicius, and the first deputy commander of the Baltic military okrug, Major General Viktor Ovcharov.

A military parade began several minutes later than planned. A young man lay down before the first armored vehicle in order to stop it moving. He was immediately removed by the servicemen. Somebody threw a bottle. This was the end of the incidents. It is true there was jostling between the soldiers and civilians on the side streets and in front of the gates. But the parade took place according to the plan envisaged by its organizers.

The demonstration lasted 35 minutes. A dialogue between the demonstrators and people standing on the sidewalks took place from time to time. It could be described as not very friendly. When this demonstration ended, a column of the Lithuanian Freedom League marched along Gedimino Prospect in the opposite direction.

The ELTA correspondent was informed by Vytautas Leibus, head of the Vilnius city directorate of internal affairs, that the militia and Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs forces were taking care of the safety of the capital's residents. By the way, the militiamen were not armed.

In violation of the laws of the Republic of Lithuania, during the military parade the servicemen were maintaining order in their own way. Several incidents took place. The servicemen entered the Lithuanian Conservatoire. Damage was done to the premises, four people received severe injuries. Tension continued in the city after the parade, too.

Lithuania Forms Committee To Draft Constitution

LD0711230490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council Presidium met today. It examined important events in the life of the state. The Presidium discussed the events of 7 November regarding illegal actions by the Soviet Union's army, as expressed by violence, willfullness, prevention of normal work, and injury to people.

The Ministry of International Affairs and corresponding standing commissions were instructed to collect information and submit it to the Supreme Council. The meeting appointed a group to prepare a draft constitution for the Republic of Lithuania. It was instructed to submit the concept of the constitution to the Supreme Council by the end of this year.

The presidium examined a letter from the Lithuanian Society of Jewish Culture concerning the coming 50th anniversary of the great tragedy of the Jewish nation—its mass destruction committed during Nazi occupation and the perpetuation of the memory of those who lost their lives. The presidium adopted a decision on the maintenance of the cemeteries and graves of the victims of the Jewish genocide and on the designation of the heritage. The presidium also discussed other problems.

Lithuania's Landsbergis Holds News Conference

LD0711220990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] A news conference was held today at the republican Supreme Council. The chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, the Republic's General Procurator Arturas Paulauskas, member of the Economic Commission of the Supreme Council Gediminas Vagnorius, and the Chairman of the Budget Commission Audrius Rudys, met the journalists.

At the beginning of the meeting, the Chairman of the Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis noted that the economic reform was, above all, linked with the problems of ownership. Practically, these are legal problems inherited 50 years ago. They are linked with the loss of the Republic's statehood and its restoration.

The chairman of the Supreme Council called the evil represented by the presence of a foreign army in Lithuania. The disregard by the military men of our people and their kidnapping demonstrate once again that the occupation army is convinced in its impunity and is ignoring [words indistinct].

The economic reform and the new system of taxes was described by the chairman of the Budget Commission, Audrius Rudys.

Then the participants in the meeting answered questions by the journalists.

Landsbergis Notes Changed European View

91UN0192A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 16 Oct 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, by ELTA correspondent Vilius Kavaleuskas; place and date not given: "Europe Inspires Hope in Us"]

[Text] The trip by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, around the countries of East Europe has ended. Neither the Western nor the Soviet press passed over the trip in silence. All kinds of comments were made, but they all had some common characteristics. The trip is genuinely significant for Lithuania, beginning a new stage in activities for international recognition of its statehood. The chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council responds to the questions of ELTA correspondent Vilius Kavaleuskas.

[Kavaleuskas] Which results of this trip do you consider the most important?

[Landsbergis] I have already said that the most notable aspect is the fact that the Western states are turning in the direction of an active policy with regard to Lithuania and the Baltic states. Some movement in this regard is being noted, especially on the part of France. Even earlier the Scandinavian countries showed more than just friendly goodwill to us, which is very understandable among the small countries of that region. Early along they demonstrated more active initiative than the big countries. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark offered concrete help. At present they have begun to speak at international forums—and especially loudly at the United Nations. Now we have learned of a favorable expression of sympathy for Lithuania from one of the great powers—France. Apparently France has finally made a decision and made use of the occasion of my visit to make a declaration of it.

[Kavaleuskas] Is it possible to assert that the position of Paris on the Baltic question changed after the so-called Kohl-Mitterrand letter?

[Landsbergis] Even then Lithuania's right to independence was acknowledged, but this was done in a restrained manner. Now it has been said directly, during the reception of a representative of the Lithuanian state.

[Kavaleuskas] A conference of European states will take place in Paris. How do the leaders of France view the Baltic countries' desire to take part in it?

[Landsbergis] I believe that France still has to take a final position. I have the impression that their attitude is still ambivalent. On one hand, it has been said that we have such a right and that our participation would be legally justified in every aspect. But at the same time we were given to understand that it would meet with the opposition of the USSR. Apparently everything will depend on the intensity or degree of that opposition. It is important to see whether it will only appear as dissatisfaction or grow into a large diplomatic conflict. France may consult with its traditional allies and discuss the issue in its own institutions of power.

[Kavaleuskas] How do we expect the West to react to the consultations recently begun between us and Moscow? Will they limit themselves to the role of impartial observer?

[Landsbergis] I believe that the attitude of the highest political leadership of France toward Lithuania will affect the general preparations for negotiations—both on our part and on the part of the Soviet Union. This will be a sign that France seriously supports the rights of Lithuania. This is not an indifferent position.

Lithuanian Party Bureau Urges Better Tactics

PM0611165390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS "Official" report: "Bureau Session"]

[Text] Publication and distribution of the party press, the tactics of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) with regard to other political and public movements in the republic—these were the key questions at a Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee Bureau session.

It was noted at the bureau session that the growth and intensification of separatist and nationalist trends and the adoption of a number of republic Supreme Soviet laws and resolutions to ban progressive parties and movements demand more flexible and better conceived tactics on the part of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU). This applies above all to questions of the consolidation of all forces to protect the socialist rule of law and working people's vital interests and to establish the closest possible links between Lithuania and other Union republics and improve relations with the USSR's central authorities.

Most Lithuanians Shun KRASNAYA ZVEZDA

PM0811144390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Gromak under the "Subscription-91" rubric: "We Trust the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 'Commissars'"]

[Text] The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA subscription campaign in Lithuania is facing difficulties. Thanks to the efforts of the Lithuanian legislature, the newspaper is regarded in the republic as seditious. Several months ago, V. Landsbergis urged his fellow-countrymen from the legislative rostrum "not to trust the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA commissars."

The newspaper has been reaching the Soyuzpechat kiosks in Vilnius in meager quantities, the vast majority of which are bought by officers and veterans of the war and the Armed Forces.

"You know," my Lithuanian friends admitted to me, "citizens are simply afraid to buy your newspaper. People may misunderstand, and of course there will be consequences.... We buy the paper from time to time. Recently we have been asking a neighbor, a retired colonel, to do this for us."

I have repeatedly heard in Vilnius, and indeed seen for myself, that very few citizens order the newspaper at subscription centers in the city and at the post office. I asked an elderly man why. Broadly speaking, his answer was this: If I order KRASNAYA ZVEZDA they will regard me as an enemy of the nation.

But there are many supporters of our newspaper in Lithuania.

"I have long been a subscriber to ZVEZDOCHKA [affectionate term for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA]," Colonel S. Starodub told me. "I have renewed my subscription for next year, too. It is a no-nonsense newspaper which objectively reports on events in the country's trouble spots. It rightly rebukes those who denigrate the Armed Forces."

At the Vilnius special units' political department I was told that subscriptions for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in subordinate units had reached last year's level at the end of October. Military servicemen are continuing to subscribe to the newspaper. In units stationed in Kaunas and Plunge, subscriptions have increased compared with last year. There is an increase in the unit where Major S. Keshishev serves.

"We regard KRASNAYA ZVEZDA as one of the few newspapers which adheres to socialist positions," Lieutenant Colonel I. Kuklin said. "The newspaper defends the honor and dignity of military men. Particularly those of us in the Baltic region.... Therefore, we trust the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 'commissars'."

Lithuanian Youth Radio Conflict Continues

LD0611145990 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 5 Nov 90

[From the "DX Club" program]

[Text] On 19 October the FM transmitter carrying the youth radio station M1 program abruptly fell silent after the editor of the other radio staion M1 broke off the cable connecting the studio and the transmitter and broadcast his own message stating that the studio of radio station M1 was occupied by force.

This was a false and provocative statement, so the telecommunications minister gave orders to switch off the transmitter, disconnecting its oscillator units, and closing its [word indistinct] to prevent any further pirate transmissions. The following Monday, 22 October, the Press Control Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs suspended the licences of both the radio station M1 and the youth radio station M1 on the grounds that these stations did not solve their property conflict peacefully but carried it over into the broadcasts.

In our [word indistinct] society, where there are plenty of laws and their amendments, even the Press Control Department did not make known the fact that the Press Law does not provide that a property dispute could be the basis for licence suspension.

Both radio stations protested against this act and on 26 October the department cancelled its suspension for the youth radio station M1. The station could then renew operations, but the same day (?Hubertas Grusnys), editor of the other M1, acting as a private person, broke open the door of the studio and occupied it for the second time. He did this for the first time in June this year, acting then as if the editor of the newly founded radio station. Since that day the people of (?Hubertas Grusnys) do not leave the premises, guarding them day and night so that the other M1 team could not resume its broadcasts.

From 31 October, the Press Control Department cancelled the licence suspension of the (?Grusnys) radio station M1 as well, as so, having control over the premises, this station could start broadcasts the same day. However, the last word in this conflict seems to belong to the telecommunications minister. He said the transmitter will not be put on the air again before a decision is reached by the arbitration tribune. This means we will not hear the (?signals) of M1 for at least two months.

Law on Lithuanian Diplomatic Ranks Published

91UN0192C Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 20 Oct 90 p 2

["Republic of Lithuania Law: On the Diplomatic Ranks of the Republic of Lithuania"—EKHO LITVY headline]

[Text] Article 1. The following diplomatic ranks of the Republic of Lithuania are established:

1) Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania;
2) Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania;
3) counselor;
4) first secretary;
5) second secretary;
6) third secretary;
7) attache.

Article 2. The ranks of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania, as well as of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania, are conferred by the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council Presidium.

The ranks of counselor, first secretary, second secretary, third secretary, and attache are conferred by the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

When conferring diplomatic rank, the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council Presidium publishes edicts while the minister of foreign affairs publishes orders.

Article 3. With regard to conferring the ranks of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania as well as of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania, proposals are introduced by the minister of foreign

affairs of the Republic of Lithuania on the basis of the recommendations of the attestation commission of the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

With regard to conferring the ranks of counselor, first secretary, second secretary, third secretary, and attache, proposals are introduced by the attestation commission of the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The makeup of the attestation committee and its statutes are approved by the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

Article 4. The ranks of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania and of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania are conferred upon leaders of the diplomatic missions of the Republic of Lithuania abroad depending on the level of the exchange of diplomatic representatives with the appropriate state.

The indicated ranks may also be conferred on leading workers at the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 5. The first diplomatic rank of attache may be conferred on a person who has worked in the diplomatic service no less than one year. A succeeding diplomatic rank, as a rule, is conferred on workers of the diplomatic corps who have worked at lower posts for a fixed period of time according to rank: Attache, third secretary, and second secretary—for no less than two to three years, and first secretary and counselor—no less than three to four years.

For significant achievements in his work, a worker of the diplomatic corps may be presented for promotion to a higher diplomatic rank earlier than the aforementioned period of time.

Article 6. The ranks of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania and of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania are conferred for life.

For people who have other diplomatic ranks, these ranks are retained in the event that these officials retire from the system of the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 7. The Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council may, at the representation of the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, take away those diplomatic ranks it has conferred; and the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania may, at the representation of the attestation commission, take away those diplomatic ranks he has conferred.

[Signed] K. Moteka, deputy chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council.

[Dated] Vilnius, 11 October 1990.

7 November Celebration Parade Held in Riga

LD0711190290

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1600 GMT on 7 November broadcasts a five-minute report by correspondent Janis Rozenieks on the military parade and civilian demonstration to mark the Great October Socialist Revolution held on Riga's 11 November Embankment today.

The report begins with the correspondent noting that the parade is just ending and that those on the rostrum have just greeted the assault landing troops. With cheering in the background, the correspondent notes that the unchanging ritual has been observed, but is it for the last time? These events are quite alien to our people, he adds.

The correspondent then says that a parade participant spoke from the rostrum about the Baltic nationalists who wanted to prohibit the bright revolution festival and said they would not succeed. He goes on to say that a helicopter flew over the parade, broadcasting slogans. There were war machines in the parade but fewer than on 1 May, and there were no caterpillar-tracked vehicles to damage the road surface.

Then Rozenieks describes the crowd around the rostrum, noting the slogans praising the achievements of October and appealing for struggle against fascists, the red flags, and the flags of Soviet Latvia, but noted there was also one flag of the Republic of Latvia.

The speeches have ended, he notes, adding that all the proceedings were conducted by Alfreds Rubiks, first secretray of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. "He said that the restoration of a bourgeois-type nationalistic dictatorship is taking place in Latvia and promised to fight against it with all possible means." Some of the speakers had been complaining, Rozenieks says, including an old rifleman who complained about privileges being taken away, and the wife of a soldier who complained about very hard living conditions.

"Deputy of the Supreme Council Oleg Shiptsov appealed for a new type organization, Equal Rights, to be founded on the basis of the Declaration of Human Rights," Rozenieks says, adding that several speakers emphasized that civil war is approaching. Those on the rostrum knew what they wanted, he says, because they had something to lose.

There were fanatical faces in the crowd, Rozenieks says, persuaded and it could be said fooled women who would probably tell the youngsters about the great Lenin and the noble party. Would these people be able to understand what 11 and 18 November mean to the Latvian people and Latvia? Perhaps something simpler, common to everybody, for example Christmas and Midsummer, could be the starting point. Compared with eternity those 73 years are a trifle, he says.

Rozenieks concludes his report by saying that as the demonstrators were leaving several people from the

crowd rushed at him, seeing he was making a recording, and he had to sneak away. Let the rains come, let the winds blow and make the Daugavmala [embankment] clean again, he says.

Latvia Fails To Reply to Gorbachev Proposal

LD0711222190 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga November 7 TASS—The Latvian Parliament today failed to adopt a reply to President Gorbachev with an agreement to the participation of the republic's representative in the work of the inter-republican economic committee at the Council of the Federation. This resulted from the absence of the parliamentary minority at today's parliament session.

On President Gorbachev's proposal, the inter-republican economic committee should promote the realisation of the plan to stabilise the national economy and switch to market relations.

Today's session was attended only by representatives from the Popular Front, which does not recognise the October Revolution anniversary as a holiday. On the initiative of the Popular Front group, November 7 has been declared a usual working day in the republic.

Opposition, including 59 deuties in the 200-seat parliament, said they intended to spend the day together with their electors in holiday demonstration columns.

The majority of participants in the discussion agreed that it is necessary to send a government representative to Moscow, as Latvia's economy depends to a great extent on the Soviet economy. But the resolution failed to receive the needed number of votes.

Later in the day, the parliament passed a statement protesting against a military parade and other army actions, held in Riga.

Latvian Supreme Council Rejects Procuracy Action

LD0711104390

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1850 GMT on 6 November, in its "Discussions in Parliament" program, carries a 15-minute report on the 6 November Latvian Supreme Council's plenary session.

The session first dealt with the second reading of the draft law on land reform, as well as tax proposals concerning land and agriculture. In the morning portion of the session Sergejs Dimans, leader of the opposition, proposed a discussion on 7 November, but this was rejected by a vote of the Supreme Council. During the evening portion of the session, Dimans presented a statement by his Equal Rights faction, and he is heard explaining in an interview why the session should be discontinued to mark the October Revolution as has been requested by so many Latvian inhabitants.

The Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs made a proposal to the session, and as a result a statement by the Supreme Council is adopted which is read as follows: "Latvian Communist Party Central Committee publications, the SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and CINA, have published protests by the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Procuracy in connection with orders issued by the managing directors of Kompresors, Radiotehnika, and VEF to make 7 and 8 November working days. The heads of these enterprises have been threatened, in the event of disobedience, with losing their positions by an act of the USSR president. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia states that the 26 September 1990 law of the Republic of Latvia on the procurator's supervision in the Republic of Latvia supersedes the law of the USSR on the activity of the USSR Procuracy in the territory of our republic, and thereby the activity of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Procuracy, a structural unit of the USSR on the territory of our republic, has no legal grounds and does not create any juridical consequences. The documents sent by the structural units of the USSR Procuracy have to be returned to whomever has issued them without being examined."

The program concludes noting a debate began in the session about Gorbachev's telegram to Gorbunovs which was sent some time ago, and the draft reply which will continue in the 7 November session of the Latvian Supreme Council session.

Godmanis Seeks Citizenship, Property Decisions

PM0711165990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova: "Politics Hinder Economics"]

[Text] Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, has asked the Supreme Soviet to accelerate the adoption of decisions on fundamental—as the government believes—questions.

The question of citizenship was named as the first among them. It was stated at a session of the government that neither the proposal to recognize all who were permanently resident in the Latvian Republic 4 May 1990 as its citizens nor the proposal to recognize as citizens only those who were citizens on 16 June 1940 and their direct descendants is acceptable. In the government's opinion, the problem can be resolved on the basis of the 1919 law on the basic principles of citizenship.

Neither is there any clarity with regard to returning the property nationalized in 1940 and in subsequent years to its former owners. In the government's opinion, a differentiated approach is needed on this question with regard to real estate in the countryside and to industrial enterprises and residential buildings in the cities. The third problem that must be resolved urgently, according to the statement by I. Godmanis, concerns the right of foreign citizens to acquire property in the Latvian Republic. The

government believes that anyone, regardless of citizenship, can possess that right. At the same time it was stated that plenipotentiary establishments in Latvia may limit and regulate the realization of this right in respect of individual items of property—plots of land, real estate, shares.

The government believes that the delay in resolving these fundamental decisions is impeding the implementation of urgent economic reforms.

Latvian Party Aide Discusses Share Ownerwship

PM0611143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Oyar Potreki by O. Meshkov; under "Fact And Commentary" rubric: "Full Steam Ahead for Joint-Stock Company]

[Text] Riga—The first steps toward the destatization of property have been taken in Latvia. There was a conference at the "Alfa" Association in Riga. Carrying out the wishes of the entire collective, the conference participants voted for the creation of a joint-stock company at the enterprise. The instrument builders' example has been followed by many other collectives. We asked Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Oyar Potreki to comment on this.

[Potreki] Labor collectives are taking these decisions in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers 19 October resolution on turning enterprises in Latvia under Union jurisdiction into joint-stock companies. It was published in the republic press and was enthusiastically supported by working people. The gist of the document is that 51 percent of the shares will pass into the hands of the labor collective, with the state keeping 49 percent.

[Meshkov] Who exactly will be in charge of this state property?

[Potreki] Again in accordance with this resolution, a joint-stock association has been set up in the republic to handle the state part of the property and a founders' council has been formed, the directors of the enterprises having chosen me to chair it. The association has been given broad rights. For example, one envisages the possibility of the creation of a finance and insurance company with the right to attract foreign capital, and also a commodity exchange, participation in stock exchange transactions, and sale of securities. There is also talk of the possibility of extending to this association the foreign economic activities procedure envisaged for joint ventures. The Union government has shown great confidence by authorizing our joint-stock association to conduct export and import, scientific-technical, and currency transactions.

[Meshkov] If a labor collective joins your association, will it find it easier to set up its own joint venture?

[Potreki] Of course. Besides, it is difficult now to break into the world market alone; however, intrafirm collaboration in terms of manpower and scientific-technical potential facilitates the solution of the task. It will now be possible to conduct an intrafirm policy of subsidies and export incentives. Our founders' agreement has now been signed by the collectives of two-thirds of the enterprises under Union jurisdiction situated in Latvia. This has happened literally within the space of three-four days. The process is developing rapidly.

[Meshkov] How do the republic authorities regard this process?

[Potreki] They take an extremely dim view of it. The republic's Supreme Soviet and government made a statement declaring the USSR Council of Ministers resolution invalid on Latvian territory. Rayon soviet executive committees are refusing to register joint-stock companies set up at enterprises. We will find a way out, of course. According to the Law on the Socialist Enterprise, a joint-stock company has to be registered. But I believe that those who are throwing a wrench in the works will lose out eventually. From a purely human viewpoint, the rejection of the new process is totally inexplicable. Was the Latvian People's Front [LPF] itself not advocating that working people should become co-owners, and then sole owners of state enterprises and state property? So why are the LPF, its legislative majority faction, and the government so alarmed that they have declared such a democratic decision invalid? Why do you get a situation where the labor collectives at "Rigakhimmash," for example, voted for the creation of a joint-stock company, and ordinary members of the LPF likewise, almost 100 percent. There you have it, the working people's actual position in contrast to that of the politicians! It makes the Latvian Government's protest that the USSR Council of Ministers resolution allegedly contradicts the Baltic republics' declared economic sovereignty appear totally absurd. In fact, this document implements the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on their economic autonomy since property is now effectively transferred to the republic. The authorities simply cannot come to terms with the fact that the initiative comes from labor collectives, that people are trusting the republic's party organization in these matters.

I will cite another example. There was a conference of leaders of kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and processing industry enterprises in Riga the other day. Here too—and I must point out that these people also constitute the backbone of the People's Front—it was unequivocally suggested that agricultural production should be dominated by collective forms of ownership—limited, joint-stock companies. The processing industry would switch to the creation of joint-stock companies. There were around 1,200 conference participants in the hall and they heckled the chairman of the land reform commission when he rose to speak. People do not like LPF policy on the countryside.

A great deal of work still has to be done. But we will spare no effort for the sake of the people's cause.

Latvians Said To Evade Draft, Alternate Service

PM0611164190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Irina Litvinova under "Direct Link" rubric: "Evading Alternate Service Too"]

[Text] Riga—In Latvia, where alternate (labor) service has been legislatively introduced, many young men are evading both it and the draft into the Army.

The overall figures for the republic are not yet known. But here is the picture which the Jurmala City Soviet, for example, noted at its last session. By 25 October 76 draftees had chosen alternate service, 25 (including two Letts) had chosen service in the USSR Armed Forces, and 53 draftees had evaded any service, despite the summonses sent out. Calls to boycott service in the Soviet Army have in general changed people's attitude toward the obligation to serve.

Latvia Says Union Enterprises' Actions Illegal

LD0611180890 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Riga November 6 LETA-TASS—Law-enforcement bodies of the Latvian Republic declared illegal decisions by heads of Union enterprises on Latvian territory to transform them into joint-stock companies.

Heads of the enterprises are guided by the Soviet Government's decision of October 19, 1990 on transforming state enterprises, amalgamations and organisations on Latvian territory into joint-stock companies.

The document is illegal, as the republican parliament has passed a law introducing amendments to the Latvian constitution, Latvian law enforcement bodies believe. According to the law, the Latvian Republic owns all property on Latvian territory.

Latvia has not adopted a law to regulate terms for the creation of joint-stock companies. Neither has the Soviet Parliament passed a corresponding law.

Riga Situation Highlights Streetcar Shortage

PM0811122390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Report by I. Vinnik and O. Zalitis from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Riga could soon be left without any streetcars. The familiar Czechoslovak models are now being sold for foreign exchange, and the city cannot afford them. Owing to an arbitrary decision by the union ministry, production of streetcars at the Riga Railcar Plant ended three years ago. The enterprise has concentrated entirely on producing electric trains. Undoubtedly there is a shortage of electric trains too, but the streetcar situation is simply catastrophic. And not just in Riga. The annual shortfall of rolling stock in the country's cities amounts to 1,000 streetcars. Our few car production facilities—in Leningrad and Chelyabinsk Oblast, for instance—are only meeting orders from their own regions. Yet the Riga Railcar Plant has developed a new streetcar. A roomy, three-section, five-door model, it can carry up to 470 passengers. The TR-1 streetcar is ten times cheaper than the foreign models available in the marketplace. The Riga streetcar has been evaluated by specialists from various cities in the northwestern zone of the USSR, which have signed agreements about the need to resume streetcar production. The Riga Railcar Plant is prepared to produce 250 modern streetcars a year. Construction of a new shop has been started, the team of specialists that was broken up three years ago is being slowly reassembled, but the enterprise cannot complete construction for the most prosaic of reasons—it does not have the money. [passage omitted]

'People's Patrol Unit' Marches in Tallinn Parade

LD0711174990 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] At the end of the columns in the parade which took place today in Tallinn, a file of slightly over 100 men was marching wearing grey clothes reminiscent of military uniform. No insignia could be seen, but the men were wearing big badges on their chests with the imprint of the USSR coat of arms. Many of them were carrying radio transmitters and receivers in their pockets, of the kind used by the militia. When asked about themselves, the men answered: We are the people's patrol unit. Mikhail Lysenko [chairman of council of strike committees], who had been leading the Group, specified: This is the workers' patrol unit marching. In the course of a brief conversation it became clear that workers of Tallinn enterprises belong in the unit and that its task is to protect order, and that includes during demonstrations. The journalist was not told who the unit is subordinate to or who has organized it.

Meri Urges West To Pressure Gorbachev

PM0711122090 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 7 Nov 90 p 14

[Report by Michael Smith: "West Told Not To Use Kid Gloves With Gorbachev"]

[Text] Estonia's Foreign Minister, Mr Lennart Meri, urged the West yesterday to intensify its pressure on Moscow for more reform and to end its "fatal mistake" of treating President Gorbachev with kid gloves.

Speaking in London after talks with Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, Mr Meri said there was a mistaken belief in the West that the Soviet leader should not be pushed too far because this could lead to his overthrow.

"That has been a fatal mistake by some foreign politicians." Mr Meri continued: "You are pulling out the carpet from underneath him and providing arguments for his opponents.

"He needs the pressure. He must be in a position to say, 'Look, that's the way the world is leaning'."

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Hurd and Mr Meri had agreed that the already existing academic and cultural links between Britain and Estonia should be expanded.

British Council officials, with whom Mr Meri will hold talks today, are actively seeking premises in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, for a British information centre.

The opening of the centre is expected to be tied to the opening in London of an Estonian information office.

Meanwhile, Soviet troops will parade through the streets of Tallinn today to mark the 1917 October Revolution.

Estonian Deputies Seek Government's Resignation

LD0611132390 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 6 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn November 6 TASS—The Estonian parliament continues to discuss the republican government activities.

Deputy Aeak Allik believes that the government should resign without waiting for an official parliamentary no-confidence vote. His opinion is shared by many other deputies, who are very critical of the excessive politisation of government activities.

Most speakers favoured the government's resignation. The issue was not put to a vote only because it was discussed outside the agenda, as a free exchange of opinions.

Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri, at a close-door meeting of Estonian Popular Front (EPF) deputies on October 18, showed those present intercepted documents from correspondence between republican parliament chairman Arnold Ruutel and representatives of the American law firm Rogovin, Hudges and Schiller.

The firm owners are Michael Rogovin, who worked in the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency from 1973 to 1975, and Bill Colby. A conclusion about the Estonian president's possible connections with the U.S. secret service was drawn on the strength of that.

Messages between "president of the Estonian Republic Arnold Ruutel and U.S. President George Bush" were exchanged via the firm through fax communication channels and dealt with the establishment of a direct exchange of information between them.

Participants in the discussion emphasised that the scandal is rooted in the long-time rivalry between prime minister Edgar Savisaar, who is the EPF leader, and Ruutel.

Speakers also pointed out that the scandal, which filtered into the press and was dubbed the Estonian watergate by local journalists, markedly shook international trust in Estonia and aggravated the crisis of power inside the republic.

Parliament deputies concluded that all the circumstances concerning the scandal involving the intercepted letters should be investigated. It will then be necessary to return to the issue in the presence of the prime minister, who is now ill, and Foreign Minister Meri, who is now in Britain.

CPSU Secretariat Greets Estonian Party

PM0711155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat message "To Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Republic's Communists"]

[Text] Dear comrades! We ardently and cordially congratulate the Communists and all those who hold dear the ideals of socialism on the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Estonian Communist Party.

Founded in November 1920, the Estonian Communist Party has traveled a difficult and complex path. The Communists headed the Estonian proletariat's struggle for the liberation of the working people and the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power in the republic. During the war they were organizers of the Estonian peoples' struggle against the Hitlerite invaders.

In the postwar period, relying on the friendship and cooperation of all peoples of the USSR, Estonia was able to resurrect its destroyed national economy and to create a firm production and cultural potential profoundly integrated into the multinational Soviet Union's economic and sociopolitical life. National self-awareness was raised to a new level.

The processes characteristic of perestroyka in the republic today demand of the Estonian Communist Party, of each party organization, and of all Communists the ability to persistently seek social and interethnic consensus, the ability to conduct constructive dialogue with all political forces for the sake of democracy and socialism. It is important not to let slip the opportunity presented for the first time to build on a humane basis a joint life in a renewed Union of sovereign republics where each people will receive the real right of free national development and stable security.

We express the certainty that the Estonian Communist Party will worthily emerge from the period of the difficulties it is experiencing today and with a profound awareness of its responsibility to the people will

strengthen the traditions of internationalism and the unity of party ranks and consistently advocate democracy and social progress.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

Estonian Party Central Committee Plenum Held

PM0711152990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Tallinn, 2 Nov—A routine plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has been held here and has discussed questions of organizing economic activity in the republic in the immediate future.

The plenum's resolution adopted on this question notes that stabilization in the economy presupposes effective state regulation. The plenum also recommended to the republic's Supreme Soviet and government that in their political and legislative activity they avoid decisions "which would lead to the rupture of the economic ties which have formed with the Union republics and regions of the USSR and other states."

Fees To Be Imposed on Estonian TV Viewers

LD0611174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Among the inhabitants of the northeastern part of Estonia, where about half of the republic's entire Russian-speaking population is concentrated, a rumor has been spread to the effect that, from the New Year onward, there will be no more relaying of Central Television programs there.

In the view of the head of the radio and television transmitting center in Kohtla-Jarve there is no smoke without fire, and the basis for these suppositions is provided by changes that are imminent in the relay center. Only those channels will be served and those programs relayed for which people pay.

The question arises: will the famous financial autonomy, to which the relaying departments are going over, not become a further brick in the wall that is being erected on Estonia's eastern borders and which is intended to isolate it from the rest of the Soviet Union?

RSFSR

7 Nov Celebrations Held Throughout Republic

In Arkhangelsk, Leningrad

LD0711201390 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—Several thousand people participated in a holiday demonstration in Arkhangelsk, northern Russia. The demonstration ended in laying flowers to the monument to liberators of the Soviet north.

Participants carried a few placards, but one of them calling on people's deputies to "talk less and to do more" was particularly notable. A meeting was held after the demonstration. City residents were invited to take part in a divine service in the local cathedral "in memory of victims of the communist terror".

Leningrad met the 73rd October anniversary without traditional decorations. There were neither placards, nor portraits in central streets and squares. For the first time in many years, torches were not lit on rostrum columns. Still the anniversary was marked.

Celebrations began with a Navy parade on the Neva river. Leningrad garrison troops marched through Palace Square. A meeting was held there under the Soviet Communist Party slogans. Speakers included Soviet Communist Party and trade union members, party and labour veterans. They spoke of their adherence to ideals of the October revolution and socialism and called for constructive cooperation of all democratic forces.

Later in the day, participants in another demonstration entered Palace Square to sounds of mourning music. The demonstration was organised by the Leningrad Democratic Union, Russian Democratic Party, Leningrad Popular Front and the Democratic Platform in the Soviet Communist Party.

After a meeting they held here, demonstrators headed for the Prince Vladimir Cathedral, where a service for the victims of the Stalinist regime was performed. In the evening, exactly on the hour when 73 years ago the Avrora cruiser fired the historic gunshot, candles were lit in lots of Leningrad houses.

A salute was fired, and there was some symbolic relation between weak candlelights in windows and bright colours of the salute, giving hope for a civil peace.

The 73rd anniversary was also marked in Tula, Orel, Tambov, Ulyanovsk, Rostov-on-Don and other Russian settlements.

In Ivanovo

LD0711215390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1338 GMT on 7 November broadcasts a 4-minute report by an unidentified correspondent in Ivanovo, who begins by describing the Revolution Day parade there, and then says that on the eve of the holiday there was a party referendum of all the Communists in the town who voted to get rid of four of the town's raykoms [rayon party committees], leaving only the gorkom [city party committee]. He continued on to say that at the recent plenum Yuriy Mikhaylovich Voronov, the former

chairman of Leninskiy Raykom, was elected to the post of chairman of the town's gorkom. He then goes on to interview Voronov.

"[Correspondent] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, is the abolition of the raykoms a retreat by the party in the face of heavy criticism and the many problems that have befallen the country at this time?

"[Voronov] I do not think that it is a retreat, but under present conditions the party cannot work in the old way. With the change in all of its functions, the role of party organizations has changed. I think that under these conditions it is also necessary to perfect the structure of the party organizations as well."

The correspondent goes on to ask how the party plans to preserve its influence in the town now that the party apparatus has been reduced so significantly.

Voronov says: "We believe that councils of secretaries of the local party organizations will function, and should effectively function, in the rayons; and they will assist our town party committee. We hope that the party organizations of the town of Ivanovo will be an active division of our Communist Party."

The correspondent then reports that "at today's demonstration the Ivanovo Popular Front organized its own column for the first time, and right now it is going past the platform. In fact, this is not a demonstration in support of the ideas of October, but rather a protest demonstration [manifestatsiya] against the holiday. But the leaders of the Front wisely decided not to hold it as a separate meeting or march, but in the general ranks of the column."

The correspondent concludes by noting that this section of the demonstration is carrying rather more slogans than the rest, and he quotes some of them which are very anti-communist and anti-government in tone: for example, "Perestroyka is a deception to preserve the party and state nomenklatura" and "The Ryzhkov government should resign." He describes this as evidence of pluralism.

In Nizhnevartovsk

LD0711205290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Tyumen that the 73d Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary was celebrated in the oil region in Tyumen and Salekhard. In Nizhevartovsk CPSU supporters and those of the Democratic Party proceeded toward one another along parallel streets.

Secretaries Confer at Party Central Committee

PM0711134390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by V. Ovcharov: "Seeking Routes to Consensus. Notes From Conference at RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The most acute and dangerous of the shortages afflicting our economy and society today is the shortage of action. Having learned to destroy the old more swiftly than we can build the new, as though proving our endurance to somebody, we are prepared on the eve of winter to discuss the bright market future in a house without roof or walls. Surely it was this phenomenon of our present behavior that gave Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES grounds for the venomous but largely deserved remark:

"Soviet politicians, scientists, and economists are engaging in a traditional Russian pastime—discussing matters outside their experience. In debating the various options for privatization and for transforming the command economy into a market economy, they are forgetting that the real world—made up of things like foodstuffs, the distribution system, and production—is collapsing."

Indeed, though we have learned to discuss, apparently we have forgotten how to run our own home, which is the meaning of the word "economy." It was concern for our common home that brought together for a meeting the other day at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee secretaries of Union republic Communist Party central committees responsible for questions of socioeconomic policy. There were discussions at this meeting, of course—there is no avoiding them today. After all, the market lies ahead with its many unknown quantities. But what predominated was something else—the quest for ways of specific work, concern for the crumbling "real world," tough and honest analysis of the situation and contradictions, and a desire to unite and coordinate the efforts of the republic's Communists to stabilize the economy on the eve of the transition to a full-fledged market.

Opening the conference, A.G. Melnikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, noted the general deterioration in the economic situation and the resultant decline in people's living standards. Today everyone can see the symptoms of the ailment, it has not spared any republic. Management of the national economy as a unified living organism is essentially paralyzed. The production anarchy is intensifying the shortage of goods and inflation. Fertile ground for the growth of crime, speculation, and corruption is being created. The situation is complicated by the mass instances of the adoption by local organs of power of decisions limiting the economic freedom of enterprises and disrupting existing coproduction and other ties that could form the structural basis

for a common economic space for the country. The process of the transition from a rigidly centralized economy and a unitary state to a Union of sovereign republics is proceeding not without distortions. The "omnipotence" of Moscow has been succeeded, in the well known expression of the country's president, by a parade of sovereignties. As a result the management system is suffering and people's everyday needs are being forgotten.

A decline in contractual discipline and the rupture of partnership ties have become virtually the norm. This "norm" is throwing everyone back to feudal bartering. A.I. Trutnev, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, cited several eloquent facts. In order to obtain necessities from suppliers, the republic has been forced this year to ship to them 47,000 television sets, 20,000 refrigerators, and 500,000 clocks and watches by way of payment in kind. The production [growth] rate in Belorussia has fallen from six to 2.2 percent. Light industry is on the verge of stoppage because of the breakdown in cotton deliveries.

Unless the economic situation is stabilized we cannot switch to the market. That is apparently clear to everybody. It is also clear that the restoration and strengthening of interrepublican economic links must occupy a most important place in the system of urgent stabilization measures. It is extremely important here, the meeting participants noted, to prevent the erection of any customs barriers, restrictions on the movement of goods, and the introduction of different approaches toward the systems of price formation, the regulation of the financial and credit sphere, and the foundations of banking activity. However, the organs of power in certain republics are acting as though they live on an island. In particular, V.S. Malkovskiy, secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, described as a desire for "superindependence" the recent decisions by Estonia's leadership. They concern economic borders, the customs service, and prices.

It is well known that there were sharp price hikes 15 October—for instance, a kilogram of meat costs 8 rubles [R]. At the same time, incidentally, wages have also been increased severalfold. So the republic's residents have apparently lost nothing. But the money they are being paid is beginning to pressure the stores of their neighbors in Leningrad and Pskov Oblasts and also in Belorussia.

There is just one way out—for all Union republics to resolve all economic questions together which may also be a stabilizing factor in the political problems that have emerged. People, particularly Estonian peasants, understand this increasingly clearly. They see that the worse links with the Union and other republics are, the harder it is to farm. Already in the republic there are advertisements like: "We will swap 300 tonnes of meat for 300 tonnes of mixed feed."

Over the two years since the earthquake it will be possible to restore only one-fourth of what was planned, O.I. Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, reported. About 500,000 people are still living in temporary trailers, not counting the 350,000 refugees. Naturally, this greatly complicates the already critical situation in the republic. The blockade during the recent events in the Transcaucasus caused particular losses. Now there is a threat of stoppage for many enterprises, and there are around 200,000 unemployed in the republic because of the shortage of raw materials. It is impossible to conclude contracts because many republics are raising the question of barter. The situation is aggravated by the fact that many defense plants have proved unprepared for conversion: They have neither contracts nor development programs. At present the enterprise directors themselves are rushing about in a hunt for orders, and they are taking everything that comes to hand. For instance, the 10,000-strong "Razdanmash" collective has only a 20 to 30 percent workload today. This powerful modern radio industry enterprise, having no sensible offers, is starting to produce concrete mixers and concrete forms for housing.... It is clear that the conversion program must be a Union program, the individual republics cannot cope with it.

There are as many problems as republics. This was demonstrated yet again by the arguments cited by A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. The republic supplies the whole country with excellent cotton, but can process only 10 percent of the harvest itself. But it has no intention of remaining a raw material appendage.

Problems of the destatization of ownership occupied a special place in the discussion. This is indeed a painful issue: How can working people themselves, those who create material wealth and grow the grain, be made masters of the wealth created by several generations? This is no idle question, for claimants to the land and factories—the grandsons of the former owners, with foreign bank accounts—have already appeared in the Baltic republics. An interesting picture emerged from the accounts of the conference participants. People in Belorussia have spoken out clearly: No private ownership of land, and plants must be collectively owned. The slogan there is clear: Yes to demonopolization, not privatization! The transfer of ownership must be free of charge. Tajikistan too is not going to sell off the land—there is so little (0.11 hectare per capita) that there can be no question of this. In some places in Lithuania attempts have been made to return land to "compatriots" from abroad, but kolkhoz members have resolutely shown them the door.... Even the priests were angry: First people are "forcibly driven" into kolkhozes, but now you want to take the land back, again by force? They have proposed a way out—paying emigres compensation for what they or their forebears have "lost." According to O.D. Potreka, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, there are already 7,600 individual farms in Latvia ranging from two to 100 hectares. But this process will scarcely be intensive. Farmers now have

three percent of all land. According to forecasts, about 10,000 people will want individual farms. People realize that individual farming is no panacea. They prefer a different path—joint-stock and share-based kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Incidentally, the joint-stock form of ownership will clearly become the dominant one in the industry of most republics. Here the labor collective must have 51 percent of the shares....

Mention must certainly also be made of the facts cited at the conference by V.I. Kuznetsov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom [City Committee]. The capital has not escaped economic disorganization either. This is now complicated by the parade of rayon sovereignties. Moscow's enterprises have concluded only 33 percent of contracts for next year. For instance, the famous "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" does not have a single contract—people are not offering it unbleached cloth, or dyes, or.... Half the planned amount of housing will be commissioned. So the 1.4 million people on the capital's waiting list must expect a 10 to 12 year wait for an apartment. In 1985, let me remind you, the wait was five or six years. And one final figure: Maintaining the old Moscow City Soviet apparatus cost R2 million per year. In the second half of the year alone the new Moscow Soviet is spending R6 million....

The conference participants were unanimous that in the prevailing situation party organizations and Communists—each in their place—must do everything in their power to influence economic policy, ensure the conditions for normal work in 1991, and seek out opportunities to improve work efficiency and make rational and thrifty use of all resources. Most importantly of all, they must always and everywhere remember people's needs and defend their interests. A breakthrough for the better is needed, badly needed. Otherwise we will arrive not at the market but at a vanity fair of soviets at various levels. With empty shelves.

New RSFSR Constitution Principles Disputed

91UN0226A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Article by V. Tsarev, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Which Russia Do We Believe In? A Couple of Questions for the Authors of the 'Basic Principles of the Constitutional Structure of the Russian Federation'"]

[Text] Kursk—"People have always been stupid victims of deceit and self-deception in politics and they always will be until they learn that behind any... phrases, declarations, or promises lie the interests of various classes." These words of V.I. Lenin come to mind more and more frequently when one analyzes the political processes that characterize the sixth year of perestroyka.

Now practically all people are democrats and they are all fighters against totalitarianism, all are ardent proponents of "progressive forces" and opponents of "destructive ones." The concepts of "left" and "right," "up" and "down" have been mixed up.

This impression becomes stronger after one becomes familiar with the draft "Basic Principles of the Constitutional Structure of the Russian Federation." There are many questions... but answers, alas, are few and far between. What good, for example, is the statement by Social Democrat O. Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitution Commission, to the effect that "the state... a free, democratic, rule-of-law state, is the agent of the society of the individual;" that "it is created by us for clearly defined purposes and is authorized to resolve only those issues which the people constitutionally assign to it"?

A person who is even slightly familiar with the history of philosophical thought automatically exclaims: That view of the state is in the spirit of J.-J. Rousseau's "theory of the social contract." From it comes 18th century Romanticism, and Rousseau of course was a great thinker of his time. In our day a little romanticism would not hurt, but not in questions of state construction...!

Perhaps the esteemed members of the commission simply did not have a chance to familiarize themselves with subsequent versions. Indeed, formulating a concept of the basic law of the Russian Federation took them a whole "two months of hard work." Other than by haste it is difficult to explain the sad fact that the people who drew up the draft constitution managed to bypass such names as Hegel, K. Marx, M. Weber, E. Durkheim, and V.I. Lenin. The second half of the 20th century is not a spiritual vacuum either. One can assume that stagnation prevailed in Soviet social sciences. But after all, Western specialists were still working: J.K. Galbraith, E. Fromm, Fourastie, Memford, and the authors of the Roman Club papers. It is impossible to list all of them. Each of them in one way or another touched on problems of the modern state and its relations with the individual. Something has appeared in our country as well during the years of perestroyka.... All that is left is to propose something worse: Authors and developers have deliberately based the concept of the Russian state on the utopian theory of the "social contract" following the 18th century model.

There are also other grounds for this conclusion: How, for example, is one to understand the following passage: **"Not to allow the activity of political parties at state enterprises, in state service, in training and educational institutions, in judicial institutions, in the Armed Forces, or in internal affairs and national security organs" (here and henceforth I will be quoting from the text of the draft published in KURSKAYA PRAVDA, 27 September 1990).**

In what sense are they not to be allowed? Within the physical confines of these organizations it is prohibited, but outside their gates it is fine? Develop plans at home and then come back and carry them out? Or is this a ban on professions? If you have a conviction you had better not go near the aforesaid organs and institutions. But what about individual and personal political sympathies and antipathies? Are they going to use an x-ray for them?

Or perhaps it is a simpler matter. After all, only one of our parties has firm positions in production and the aforementioned organs and institutions. So perhaps they mean only communists?

There is also misunderstanding and confusion about the names of the republic. The text of the draft includes three of them: the Russian Federation, the Russian Federated Republic, and finally the familiar RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. What is this—an exercise in linguistics, for beauty of composition so to speak? Or are they feeling out public opinion on the subject of adherence to the socialist idea?

The authors of the "Foundations of the Economic Life of the New State" do not tie everything together either. For example, in the section entitled "Free Entrepreneurship" (Article 1) its says: **"Freedom of entrepreneurship is guaranteed and protected by the state. No activity may be prohibited unless stipulated by law. Freedom of entrepreneurship must not contradict social interests."**

There is no doubt that there can be no market economy without free entrepreneurship. Of course it does not hurt to protect it with the power of the state. But there is another question: Who will guarantee and protect social interests? This is not mentioned in the draft. There is only a general wish. No, somehow the dilemma of "entrepreneurial activity-social interests" is clearly not resolved in favor of social interests. But whose agent is the state then: the society's or the entrepreneurs'? It is perhaps not without reason that from its names, as a variant of course, they have eliminated "Soviet" and "socialist" republic.

To be sure, there is in this document one extremely important point which does not admit of different interpretations. This is it: **"The rights of the federation within its competence takes precedence over the rights of the subjects of the federation."**

This is a very important and correct point. It should be supported in all ways. But here in the "Principles of the Federative Structure of the RFR [Russian Federative Republic]" it is stipulated that **"authority in the Russian Federative Republic is delegated from below to above. Subjects of the federation are completely independent in solving their internal problems. They are sovereign to the extent that they have not turned over part of their authority to federal organs."**

But what if the subjects of the federation have not given up any part of their authority? This is not an idle question. For delegating authority "to above" is being suggested at a time when "one-sixth of the land" is being engulfed by a wave of total "sovereignization." The more so since, according to the draft, the subject of the federation may be both national and regional units. Will the future subjects be able to resist the temptation of "complete" sovereignty? And in this case, what will the "federation" or more simply Russia, be? It might turn out that the question of the "precedence" of the federative rights will fall away by itself because of a lack of need for it.

Incidentally, I get caught up with the idea that perhaps "imperial thinking" is keeping me from understanding the entire depth of the authors' ideas. Of course this is possible. But before my eyes I see the development of events according to this scenario.... True there are still Union organs, there is the USSR president and the Union Government, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and the Union Supreme Soviet. In a word, we still have everything that is called the "center." But it turns out that its decisions are no longer mandatory for other "sovereign states" and their laws now have superiority over Union laws.

The result is evident: Economic ties that have been formed over years and decades are being broken, delivery discipline is declining, the consumer market is in agony. Qualified experts warn us that in 1991 the national economy could come to a complete halt.... Interethnic strife has already caused blood to be spilled, and the danger that this is not the last of it is very real. In certain republics quite professional politicians and a new national bureaucracy have appeared which will, as it were, draw their own well-being and popularity out of this blood.

As is now becoming clear, it is impossible to change over to the market without stabilizing the economic and social situation or restoring normal economic ties. It turns out that to accomplish this a strong central authority is necessary. Its decisions, within the framework of the constitution, must take "precedence" on the territory of the entire Union! That is the way things are.

So shall we repeat the Union scenario in Russia?

We could try, but with one indispensable condition: Russia must be a multinational and multicultural state. But Russia still has the same problems which the Union as a whole has. There are many national minorities and large national-ethnic groups, there is the diversity of languages and cultures, there are three world religions and a multitude of local religions, there are proponents and opponents of the socialist option, and there are even territorial borders. New sovereign republics are appearing, but this time it is within Russia. In a word, it is all there. The only thing missing is some kind of basic unity around a common scale of basic values. We do not have the initial level of a sense of justice and political culture that is needed to build a democratic society.

Whether we like it or not, we inevitably arrive at a situation in which new subjects of the federation, in terms of the draft—republic, will try to get out from under the control of the federal organs of power, the cities and large administrative units out from under the control of the republic, and the rayons out from under the control of the cities. Yes, these processes are actually already taking place and have already led to a crisis of authority at all levels.

But an even more complex cluster of problems arises when solving "from below" the problem of territorial boundaries of the national subjects of the federation. When we recognize the authority of all the national-territorial formations, at the same time we recognize on the one hand the borders that already exist, and on the other the justice of the territorial claims of those peoples who, because of various factors, have either not had their statehood or have been pushed outside the boundary of their "traditional" territory of residence. One might ask: How can these problems be solved from below without the mediation and regulating role of the center as the supreme arbitrator? After all contradictions fraught with conflicts and bloodletting are inevitable here.

In any case, in the concept of the new Russian statehood this problem, which threatens to turn the country into another Lebanon, is resolved with surprising ease. For example, it is suggested to introduce for the time it takes to conclude the new federative agreement a moratorium on changing the boundaries of the national subjects of the agreement—just think, reader!—and the formation of the new subjects of the federation. But the center, in the form of federative structures, may participate "in the organization of the process of concluding the federative agreement by preparing a scientific base for the formation of regional subjects of the federation and by developing a draft model of the federative structure."

Consequently, the federal organs are assigned prognosticative and consultative functions. They may participate only in the development of the federative agreement. So may they also choose not to participate in it?

Let us assume that imperial thinking is having its effect here and the authors are right. But how do they get around the problem of the geographical borders of the areas were the Russian ethnic group lives? Where have they been drawn, by whom, and when? Where will the republic of Russians be located? When and how will its organs of power be created and its boundaries be drawn—before the conclusion of the federative agreement or afterwards? Have the esteemed authors really forgotten that the ethnic group that is largest in number has no territory on which to live?

No, eminent political scientist A. Migranyan was absolutely right when he warned in his article "The Inviolable Union?" (IZVESTIYA, 21 September 1990) that an attempt to create all state institutions from a clean slate on a contact basis [kontaktnoy ocnove] is an attempt to realize one more grand utopia which will lead to a situation in which society will end up without its organizing core, and it will end not with the triumph of democracy but with complete disorganization and chaos. Do the esteemed constitutional commission and its secretary see this danger? Or have they overlooked it in the heat of the battle with the Union center? Can it be that they really do not understand that with this development of events the political center not only of the Union but also of the RSFSR will in the near future end up in the role of center of a nonexistent state?

It is surprising but in the proposed draft on Russian statehood there is no room for such a concept as "soviet of people's deputies." Even though up to this point from all the podiums, including in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, legislators have been constantly trying to convince us that the main goal of the political reform is the most rapid transfer of all power to the soviets.

But the fact is that the sovereignty of the soviets is poorly coordinated with that same freedom of entrepreneurship which the authors of the draft found it possible to stipulate especially in two articles and which is supposed to be the underlying foundation of the economic life of the future state.

But there is a kind of logic here. The soviets really will be an impediment to the private appetites of future private entrepreneurs. But as sovereign masters of the territories they do not completely fit in with the system of presidential rule. They do not fit in with the principle of separation of authority either. After all they are both legislative—within the limits of the constitution and its authority—and executive—in the form of the ispolkom [executive committee]—organs at the same time. All this is true. But then why all the lengthy discussions of the sovereignty of the people? After all, neither presidential rule, nor the legislative system, nor the separation of power will provide for sovereignty of the people in and of themselves.

Sovereignty of the people means democracy of participation, whereby each person may count not only on the representation of his interests in the organs of power but also on direct participation in the management of the state and the defense of his interests without transferring this right to any representative (deputy, delegate, congressman, senator, and so forth). It is for this kind of democracy that people are fighting in the West because the mechanisms of representation were created long ago. But they do not always function in their interests.

In this sense our soviets are a really important step toward the sovereignty of the people, especially if they are based on a developed system of territorial and production self-management. Why be in such a hurry to toss them onto the "scrap pile of history"? Simply because they do not fit into the kind of society and the kind of state that is being proposed to us by the esteemed authors.

But now let us think: What kind of a society is it whose constitution is in the spirit of the 18th century?

True: We are being called to a period of initial accumulation and to the market that corresponds to it, one which is primitive, that is not state regulated as it is in all civilized countries at the end of the 20th century.

Although in Article 1 of Section II of the "Foundations of Economic Life" it seems to be stipulated that "in the market sphere the state checks on the fulfillment of the laws and stimulates and regulates economic development," this is nothing more than a phrase, a good wish.

In order to have the possibility of exerting a regulating influence, it is necessary, as A. Migranyan has correctly pointed out, to have a strict system of state subordination with a clear separation of authority which is observed not only by decrees and edicts but also by the power structures of the higher organs.

To put it more simply, it is necessary for the central authority and the federal organs to have practical levers and mechanisms for implementing their decisions. This is the only way it is possible to regulate anything, including the economy. To check on the observance of the laws, if the laws of the republics take precedence over the laws of the federation, is possible only as an outside observer.

No, the ends decidedly do not come together in the esteemed authors' draft of the "Basic Principles of the Constitutional Structure of the Russian Federation."

It is offensive to feel that you are a "victim of deceit in politics" even from such progressive, and for today's times very radical, deputies and commissions. Although I am ready to agree beforehand: Perhaps I am mistaken and our new revolutionaries are sincerely convinced that only by going through a period of initial accumulation, having repeated as it were the beaten path of civilization," will we reach the sparkling heights of "universal prosperity." After all, they are ready to create the market for reaching these heights in a year and a half. Good God!

Here how can one not agree with A. Zinovyev, a former compatriot who is now one again, who in his well-known article "I Want To Tell You About the West," warns: "The Westernization of Russia will be carried out not by the demagogues (excuse me—it is not my expression) and project mongers themselves but by millions of simple people who have been raised under the conditions of the Soviet social structure and have gotten used to it. The years of Soviet history have not passed without a trace. They have entered into the flesh and blood of the people."

Other compatriots from abroad also warn us about being taken in by more illusions. But the main thing is that if in our society there exists any unifying idea, it is the idea of the evolutionary, nonviolent nature of change. Yes, changes are necessary, but only socially footloose and criminal elements need shocks. The majority of the people are resolutely against any kind of prosperity if it has to be paid for with blood and suffering.

This cannot but be taken into account when imposing on them "from above" a draft design for a completely strange society, even if you sincerely want to make your compatriots happy. The results might turn out to be the direct opposite of what you expected. Therefore when drawing up drafts of a new social structure it is extremely important to provide for at least a minimum of historical continuity and not try to begin "from zero" each time. Otherwise a repetition of the tragic mistakes of the past is inevitable.

Of course, my first impressions of the concept of the new Russian statehood might suffer from subjectivism and one-sidedness. Nobody is insured against that. After all, de-ideologization is taking place only in the draft designs of certain of our new "democrats." It does not exist in life. So let us consider together.

RSFSR Deputies' KGB Ties Cause Dissension

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[Report by N. Garifullina: "On Threshold of Market. '500 Days' Program Begins Its Countdown 1 November; Resolution on This Adopted Yesterday by RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday's plenary sitting of the Russian legislative session began with a "cadres" question. I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, proposed the candidacy of V.N. Khlystun to the still vacant post of chairman of the Land Reform Committee. Following a discussion the deputies voted in favor of his appointment to this post.

The subsequent course of the session confirmed the banal truth that life is full of surprises because the chairman of the session, truly unexpectedly for the deputies, said:

"Seeing that we have moved to cadres questions, we have received a resignation request from Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sterlingov, the administrator of affairs of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. I would like to ask for the following resolution to be adopted: 'The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves to relieve Comrade Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sterlingov of the duties of RSFSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs at his own request and in connection with his transfer to work in the USSR KGB.'"

What happened after this is what they call "a dumb show" in the theater; then the hall came to its senses and became to murmur: "Resigned why? In connection with what?" The chairman of the session, interrupting the voting, said: "Since there is an uproar, I will explain." He explained that by no means everything had been going well for Aleksandr Nikolayevich, and the Supreme Soviet had been offering the economic services insufficient help. "There are also critical statements among the press (!), deputies, and other figures. On the whole, in these circumstances A.N. Sterlingov feels himself insufficiently comfortable and insufficiently confident."

Approaching the microphone at the deputies' demand, the administrator of affairs confirmed what had been said and added that among people's deputies also the opinion exists that the presence in such a post of a former state security worker engenders a certain feeling of mistrust.

Nevertheless, to many deputies the motives for the resignation appeared unconvincing.

However, Silayev stated that he had no grievances toward Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sterling from the standpoint of honesty, thoroughness, sincerity, and an exceptionally conscientious attitude toward his work. But recently the opinion had been voiced that his previous employment provokes certain feelings of unease, some doubts....

Strange logic, is it not? Incidentally, it was also focused on by Deputy I.V. Vinogradova who posed the perfectly reasonable questions: Why are circumstances such that it is precisely the sincere, honest, and courageous workers who do not withstand the trials of a three-four-month period? Where are the major reasons for the resignation concealed anyway?

Nevertheless, the resignation was accepted by the Supreme Soviet. Maybe at this point the episode could have been declared closed. However, as has already been remarked, life is full of surprises. Immediately after the vote R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, made a truly shocking statement:

"A word or two in connection with this circumstance and on the subject of suspicion," Ruslan Imranovich said. "Very many deputies come up to me as well. There is such a bacterium of suspicion in the air among us in general, and of course it has its basis, you know this perfectly as well as do I. But in order for us to begin a purging process in earnest it is necessary, I think, to draw up a law forbidding the secret collaboration of state employees of the Russian Federation with any special organs whatsoever—including KGB workers—and stipulating punishment, very severe punishment at that, not only with regard to those who collaborate secretly but also with regard to recruiters and even for attempted recruitment."

Surely our Supreme Soviet is not beginning a new campaign, that is to say a witch-hunt? What will this achieve in our Fatherland? A demoted KGB general is elected a people's deputy, and rumor and the press make him almost into a hero. Another "honest, sincere man" is compelled to resign just because he is a former KGB staffer. These are really unfathomable paths.... Or what else will happen when the promised "purging process" begins? [passage omitted]

Persecution for Criticism Still Occurs

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[Interview with N.S. Stolyarov, chairman of RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission, by Yu. Nikolayev; place and date not given; under "Unadorned Fact" rubric: "Stab in the Back"]

[Text] News of the dismissal of A. Zolotarev, secretary of Lipetsk CPSU Obkom [oblast committee], was disseminated recently. We asked N.S. Stolyarov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Control Commission, to comment on this fact.

[Stolyarov] Yes, such an unpleasant incident, as they say, really did occur.

[Nikolayev] But what brought about such a drastic measure?

[Stolyarov] Treachery, to be brief. This was how the members of Lipetsk Obkom Bureau evaluated the conduct of their recent colleague.

[Nikolayev] Is that not putting it too harshly...?

[Stolyarov] Probably not.... Imagine the picture.... An emergency situation had arisen in the oblast in connection with harvesting the perishing harvest, but during that time the obkom secretary was busy building a private dacha. Let us agree: an incredible situation, unnatural for a Communist leader. You know, Zolotarev also used special equipment and state transport and involved military construction workers in the work. What is this if not a challenge to public opinion? And at such a difficult time for the country and the Communist Party.

The oblast CPSU control commission checked out the "dacha affair" carefully. It brought to light both abuses of his official position and a lost sense of modesty.... Of course all this is incompatible with a leading post in an oblast party organization.

[Nikolayev] Did the obkom bureau merely remove Zolotarev from his post...?

[Stolyarov] The question of party liability will be decided after he has recovered his health, at a plenum of the CPSU obkom.

[Nikolayev] Nikolay Sergeyevich, how frequently are facts of this kind encountered nowadays?

[Stolyarov] The leading staff of kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees has been very greatly renewed in recent years. Communists have expressed no-confidence, above all in their former leaders who have displayed personal immodesty and used for mercenary purposes the high position they held in party organizations. But as we see, not everyone has yet drawn lessons from this. Unfortunately, in some places people even continue to absolve of responsibility Communist leaders who compromise themselves and the party and treacherously stab it in the back.

[Nikolayev] Could you be more specific?

[Stolyarov] Certainly! Take the so-called "Mordovian affair," for example. A shameful drama was played out in the autonomous republic, not during some stagnation

years but on the very crest of perestroyka, and with the whole range of attributes of the notorious administrative-edict system including "telephone law," victimization for criticism, mutual cover-ups.... However, I will relate it in the proper order....

In a letter to the CPSU Central Committee, M.V. Barinov reported gross violations of the CPSU Statutes and legality on the part of members and candidate members of the Mordovian Obkom and a number of Communist leaders. The letter was forwarded to Obkom First Secretary A. Berezin, who for some reason perceived the cry from the letter writer's heart as slander against leading workers and as an attempt to blacken them. Then events developed according to a scenario dashed off during the unforgettable years. The M.V. Barinov "case" was pasted together. Even before the court session the republic newspaper SOVETSKAYA MORDOVIYA published a devastating article against the author of the appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and presented him to the public as a "slanderer," "cheat," "rogue...." As a result, the man was unlawfully convicted and was released only after six months in jail, following an appeal from the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office....

[Nikolayev] All this happened nowadays? It is hard to believe....

[Stolyarov] Nevertheless.... But I admit that what concerns me more is not even the actual reprisal for criticism but the assessments made of it.

We had intended to examine this whole situation in our Central Control Commission. It was only after persistent requests from the leaders of the Mordovian Obkom that we agreed to its being discussed at an obkom plenum. There was logic in the request. We made the mistakes, they said, and we will rectify them ourselves. It is only to be regretted that the obkom lacked boldness or principledness and adopted a rather incoherent, toothless decision.

The facts of abuse of office and breaches of the law by certain leaders were mainly confirmed, but the plenum was unable to call anyone properly to account for them.... Communist V. Uchaykin, chairman of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and Obkom Secretary I. Tsyganok were merely reprimanded for "immodesty in improving housing conditions." It was also decided to limit themselves to a discussion in cases concerning the use of official position to acquire automobiles. Principled assessments were not made of the Communist workers of law-enforcement organs involved in badgering both M.V. Barinov himself and his son, the chairman of a collective farm.

Yes, to be honest it has to be admitted that reprisals for criticism are continuing, even if it is fair criticism....

[Nikolayev] How were the plenum decisions perceived in the republic itself?

[Stolyarov] I have just been speaking by telephone with Nikolay Ivanovich Kruglov, secretary of the "Tsentrolit" Plant's party committee. He said that the party members with whom he has managed to speak consider the plenum decisions unscrupulous....

[Nikolayev] And what now?

[Stolyarov] Before we, the Central Control Commission, intervene, we must see how questions of the party responsibility of a whole bunch of leaders are examined in primary organizations and whether they will be determined enough to call things by their proper names. In addition, a party conference is taking place in Saransk as we are talking. Much depends on its position too.

[Nikolayev] Now let us sum up some results. As we see, two obkoms—Lipetsk and Mordovian—have taken two different approaches to the examination of similar situations. What consequences can be expected now in both cases?

[Stolyarov] I have talked with one of the secretaries of Lipetsk Obkom. He said how hard they found it to decide to make the shameful case public, but they decided to do so with firm faith in the party organization's healthy, creative forces. With faith that it would support their desire to rid the party as quickly as possible of ballast, of such hypocrites who merely pose as champions of the people while above all in fact making their own lives more comfortable as far as they possibly can. They were not mistaken. The Communists supported them in their strictness.

Unfortunately, the news issuing from Mordovia does not inspire optimism.

Consultations Held on RSFSR-Ukraine Treaty

PM0711143590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Treaty Between Russian Federation and Ukraine Being Elaborated"]

[Text] Working consultations between plenipotentiary delegations of the Russian Federation and Ukraine on preparing a treaty on the basic principles of relations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] have been held in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

As already reported, the previous consultations were held in Kiev in October of this year. Coordination of the text of the treaty was largely completed during the Moscow meeting. It envisages developing the relations between the two republics on the basis of friendship, good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation, noninterference in internal affairs, and the renunciation of strong-arm and economic methods of pressuring each other. The draft treaty includes provisions

on mutual respect for the sides' state sovereignty, and territorial integrity within the framework of the borders existing within the USSR.

It is proposed to complete the consultations in the next few days.

Silayev Sends Condolences to Asbest on Explosion

PM0711143190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 First Edition p 2

[Condolence message from RSFSR Premier I. Silayev on explosion in city of Asbest]

[Text] To the City of Asbest, Sverdlovsk Oblast;

To the City Soviet of People's Deputies;

To the Chemical Plant Collective;

To the Families of Those Who Died in the Explosion;

On behalf of the Russian Government and on my own behalf I express deep condolences to you in view of the misfortune that has befallen you—the explosion which cost the lives of your comrades and your near and dear ones.

We share your grief.

[Signed] I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers

Secretary Dzasokhov's North Ossetia Trip Reported

PM0611161590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visit to North Ossetia"]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in the North Ossetian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] 26 through 29 October. He visited multiethnic labor collectives, conversed with young voters and representatives of the autonomous republic's creative intelligentsia, and visited North Ossetia's Vladikavkaz Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] and Alagirskiy Rayon.

It was noted that the authority of Communists today depends on how actively they begin to participate in solving the people's basic problems, defend the interests of the working people, and turn ideas into specific and practical deeds.

In the North Ossetian Republic CPSU Committee, a conversation was held between A.S. Dzasokhov and figures from the spheres of science, literature, and art; media representatives; leaders of the party, soviet, and economic organs of the autonomous republic; USSR, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and North Ossetian ASSR people's deputies; and people's deputies from the local soviets. At the center of attention were the CPSU's key tasks at the present stage and the activity of soviets of people's deputies of all levels. Questions of party support in the North Ossetian ASSR for the program of transition to new economic relations and measures for the social protection of badly off strata of society were broached in a keen and principled manner, as were the topics of the CPSU's establishing contacts with new political forces and movements, the activity of the mass media in conditions of political diversity, and the mobilization of Communists and party organizations for active participation in the task of driving out crime and introducing law and order.

Dzasokhov drew the attention of those at the meeting to the fact that the October (1990) CPSU Central Committee Plenum has become an important event in the life of the party. Its significance stems from the fact that it clearly delineates the position on the most important issue—the position in the country and the CPSU's tasks vis-a-vis the economy's transition to market relations.

The plenum's decisions set primary party organizations in this difficult period firmly in the direction of persistent work toward normalizing the political and socioeconomic situation in the country. The party must be at the center of the process of resolving all the burning topical questions connected with the problems of consolidating Communists and all citizens of the USSR around the ideas of democracy and humanism, Dzasokhov stressed.

RSFSR Regional Aides Hold Economic Conference

PM0211144590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by S. Suslikov: "Republic Needs Strong Authority"]

[Text] The transition to the market and cooperation between the Russian Government and the republic's regions—this was the subject of a conference held at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers 25 October with the participation of the Councils of Ministers of the republics which are part of Russia and the ispolkoms [executive committees] of kray and oblast soviets.

The conference at the Council of Ministers demonstrated the sides' readiness to listen to each other, which is rare for our times. There were still more words than deeds, and there were rebukes and accusations, but at the same time it was not hard to notice how the usual pretentiousness was giving way to unusual pragmatism. I. Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers, saw the regional economic zones which have arisen spontaneously in West Siberia, the Volga region, and the Urals as a real opportunity to track down the ends of the feedback with the territories which had been lost by the government.

A project for the creation of a Federal Economic Committee which would include representatives of 12 to 14

regional economic zones was submitted for the conference participants to judge. In the opinion of the project's authors, the Federal Economic Committee could be a kind of instrument of entry to the market: It could formulate strategy and coordinate the actions of the regions among themselves and with the center—which would make it possible to avoid the adoption of incorrect government decisions. Incidentally, here there were skeptics who, while not disputing the idea itself, doubted the expediency of realizing it at once. The regional economic zones which emerged as an attempt by the territories to pool efforts against the barbaric barter version of the market did not and could not become a living unified organism in such a short time, and since this is so who will give a guarantee that the 10 to 12 members of the Federal Economic Committee will resist the temptation to champion the interests of their own oblasts on the committee to the detriment of regional interests?

In actual fact, maybe there is no point in hurrying to create one more economic committee, the third one, in the republic....

The conference at the Council of Ministers demonstrated the readiness of the territories and the center to recreate vertical power structures. Of interest in this connection was the experience of Sakhalin Oblast Soviet which has granted the ispolkom chairman almost the status of a governor with the right to veto any decision of the oblast soviet presidium. Repeated mention was made of the idea of a contract system, whereby the ispolkom chairman works under a contract with the soviet, and the leaders of ispolkom administrations and services under a contract with the oblast soviet ispolkom.

The meeting participants supported the idea of the consistent implementation of the radical economic reform. The transition to market relations is hardly possible without normalizing the activity of local soviet executive and administrative bodies. Local executive and administrative authority must be strong. It was no coincidence that the conference made a critical interpretation above all of those draft laws submitted by the government which one way or another could strengthen or weaken executive authority: tax rates, the principles of forming local budgets, the right to a territorial state order, etc.

A statement was adopted in which the meeting participants submitted to the RSFSR Council of Ministers a proposal on the need to repeal the decisions of city and rayon soviet sessions which have already abolished ispolkoms. The negative changes which have become apparent in the structure of organs of people's power, the statement emphasizes, are radically undermining the already shaken executive discipline and leading to arbitrariness in the fulfillment of contract pledges.

Russian Social Development Fund Established

PM0711132990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "'Rebirth;' Russian Social Development Fund Established"]

[Text] It is well known that social programs in the Russian Federation are implemented slowly. The unbalanced economy is unable to constantly supply them with resources. Therefore there is a need for new approaches which demand the creation of a charitable economy. This was how the idea of organizing the "Rebirth" fund for the social development of Russia emerged within RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet committees.

The fund will organize contacts with Soviet enterprises and foreign partners. Combination of the potential of a financial and trading company, production and economic association, and international bank will make it possible to attract and utilize on a mutually advantageous basis considerable financial and credit resources. With the resources formed both by financial and commercial activity and from charity, the fund will be able to develop and implement an extensive program of social measures without appropriations from the state budget and also to provide fruitful assistance to citizens who have suffered as a result of natural disasters, accidents, and interethnic conflicts.

Citizens, enterprises, firms, institutions, and social and religious organizations of the RSFSR, other Union republics, and foreign countries and international organizations can take part in fulfilling the fund's tasks on a voluntary basis.

By a resolution adopted 1 November the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium founded the "Rebirth" fund and ratified its charter. Within two weeks the RSFSR Council of Ministers will examine questions connected with the formation and functioning of the fund and its organizations.

'Democratic Youth of Russia' Group Established

LD0411222190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] A new political organization has been created called the Democratic Youth of Russia [Demokraticheskaya Molodezh Rossii] association. The announcement of its creation was adopted today by representatives from a whole series of youth organizations: the Russian Democratic Association, the youth organizations of the Democratic and Social-Democrat Parties of Russia, and the Moscow committee for the creation of parties of youth solidarity. The aims of the new independent organization are to attract young people to political activities directed towards the establishment of a democratic, law governed state, and to attract them to economics with priority being given to the development by

them of forms which are more effective and are more fundamental to the market economy.

The charter adopted by the association states that both collective and individual membership are incompatible with membership of political organizations of movements opposed to Democratic Russia.

Moscow Military Thanked for Potato Harvest Help

PM0811111190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Single Edition p 1

[Message from Moscow Oblast leaders thanking USSR defense minister for assistance with harvest]

[Text] To Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense;

Esteemed Dmitriy Timofeyevich!

The extreme weather conditions this year created a critical situation for working people of the agro-industrial complex and threatened the loss of vegetable products and potatoes.

Displaying high civic responsibility, Soviet Army servicemen were among the first to respond to the rural workers' appeal to save the harvest which had been grown, and by their selfless productive labor they made a significant contribution to the completion of harvest work.

Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee and Moscow Oblast Soviet express cordial gratitude and appreciation to the collectives of Moscow Military District military units and of military construction workers stationed on the territory of Moscow Oblast, to school cadets, and to students of USSR Defense Ministry academies for their timely support and invaluable assistance in gathering the harvest.

On the day of the nationwide festival of the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we wish you further fruitful work in strengthening our motherland's defense capability.

[Signed] I. Cherepanov, chairman of Moscow Oblast Soviet.
Mesyats, secretary of Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee.

Moscow Raises Pensions Comparable to USSR

PM0811111590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Single Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent: "Pensions Increased"]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Nov—Locally funded individual pensions in the capital have been increased for invalids, war participants, and the families of dead servicemen.

In adopting this decision the Moscow City Soviet Presidium took account of the fact that comparable Union-level pensions for these persons are being recalculated in accordance with a USSR Council of Ministers instruction. The Union government has recommended that the republic Councils of Ministers and local authorities do likewise.

Although this was not obligatory, the city soviet presidium increased the size of the aforesaid pensions as of 1 October. They are being recalculated out of city budget funds and in accordance with the procedure laid down by the new pension legislation.

420 Dodge Fall Army Draft in Leningrad Oblast

PM0711165390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Yevgeniy Solomenko under the rubric "Direct Link": "They Failed To Report to Draft Centers"]

[Text] Leningrad—Leningrad Oblast Soviet has appealed to the oblast's draftees and to their parents and labor collectives in the pages of the local press.

Pointing out that "there are still many shortfalls in military collectives" and that pacifist sentiments are growing among young people, the deputies appealed to their fellow countrymen: "We urge you to do all in your power to give the USSR Armed Forces worthy reinforcements from the illustrious Leningrad Oblast."

The need for this appeal was dictated by concern at the progress of the fall draft for active military service. There is cause for such concern: Whereas last spring 115 people failed to report to draft centers in the oblast, this fall there have already been 420 such cases. In Gatchinskiy Rayon alone 243 draftees have failed to report.

Tatars' Kazan Rally Claims Sovereignty Violated

PM0711142190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 90 p 2

[Report "Through TASS Channels and From Our Correspondents" under the general heading: "Have You Heard? Have You Read?"]

[Text] Participants in a rally held by the Kazan branch of the Tatar public center have criticized B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and his deputy, R. Khasbulatov, "for attempting to impose on the republic of Tatarstan a draft federal treaty by a decision of a RSFSR Supreme Soviet session" in violation of Tatarstan's sovereignty. POSTFAKTUM reported that RSFSR people's deputies from the republic have been instructed to immediately withdraw from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Tatar Republic Establishes Own News Agency

LD0411151390

[Editorial report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1317 GMT on 4 November carries a three-minute item on the establishment of "a national news agency, TATINFORM," in Kazan. The agency's general director (Omar Bagdalov) is interviewed by correspondent (Ilya Zlatipov). Bagdalov points out that the Tatars, the second most numerous people in the RSFSR, are scattered throughout the country. "Of 7 million, only one and a half or a little more live in the Tatar republic." It is to establish contact between the groups of Tatars that TATARINFORM [as heard] was formed. "It is a national but not a nationalist news agency." No money has been provided by the state. A fund has been provided by Tatariya's Goskomizdat and local newspaper and magazine publishing house.

(Bagdalov) explains why the agency's newspaper is published in Russian: "Even here in Tatarstan, to put it bluntly as a result of Stalin's nationalities policy, many Tatars not only cannot read but cannot even speak their native language. For that reason we are publishing the newspaper in the lingua franca, that is Russian." There will be a literary section in Tatar for those who wish to study the language. News will cover the life of Tatars, their cultural centers, and local papers from areas inhabited by Tatars.

Looking to the future, (Bagdalov) suggests that the agency might provide other centers with videos of Tatar performances and appearances by Tatar poets, authors, and scientists.

Novaya Zemlya Soviet Restablished

PM0711163790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Viktor Fridman under the rubric "Direct Link": "Soviet Power Restored in Novaya Zemlya"]

[Text] Arkhangelsk—The oblast soviet presidium has decided to create an island soviet of people's deputies of oblast subordination on the island of Novaya Zemlya.

Novaya Zemlya Island Soviet dates back to 1924. For long years Tyko Vylka was its permanent chairman, and he was known as the president of Novaya Zemlya. Interesting facts are stored in documents in the oblast archives. In 1934 there were 10 producers' cartels, a boarding school with 44 pupils, two hospitals, four medical centers, two veterinary centers, and two cultural centers. The island's population was exempt from all taxes.

During the fifties the people of Novaya Zemlya were forcibly evicted in connection with military construction work. In 1957 the island soviet ceased to exist.

Now, 33 years later, the island soviet is turning a new page.

"The civilian population of Novaya Zemlya," said V. Shiryayev, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet, "numbers several thousand, but power belongs to the military. Is this right? The newly created island soviet will resolve a whole package of accumulated social problems and monitor the ecological situation."

Kemerovo Oblast Ratifies Siberian Market Plan

LD0811015590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The SIBINFORM News Agency reports that a Kemerovo Oblast soviet session has ratified the Siberian agreement that was signed by representatives of eight oblast and kray soviets and executive committees in Siberia. The aim of the agreement is the creation of a regional common market. The Siberian agreement is due to be finally adopted in Novosibirsk this month.

Chita Obkom Elects New First Secretary

PM0711154190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 90 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Communists' Conference"]

[Text] Chita, 2 Nov—At an oblast party conference which ended today, 39-year-old N.V. Merzlikin, who was previously head of the oblast party committee [obkom] ideological department, was elected first secretary of Chita RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Obkom.

The conference delegates discussed the party obkom report and the Transbaykal Communists' action program designed to fulfill the decisions adopted by the 28th CPSU Congress and the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress. A.G. Melnikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, took part in and addressed the conference.

New Weekly Newspaper Published in Chelyabinsk

LD0611191290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] GOLOS [THE VOICE] is the name of a weekly newspaper which has today arrived in the Soyuzpechat kiosks in Chelyabinsk. This paper will be published henceforth by the soviet of people's deputies of the million-strong city and the (?forum) joint stock company. It looks as if the journalists of the new weekly have set themselves the aim of competing with the daily VECHERNIY CHELYABINSK, which has been published for 20 years and is deservedly popular among the city residents, as evidenced by the results of subscriptions for 1991.

The VECHERNIY CHELYABINSK expects the biggest circulation among the periodicals of the south Urals. Let us wish for the new newspaper GOLOS that it finds its voice and wins the love and respect of the people of Chelyabinsk.

RSFSR Presidium Begins Publishing Newspaper

LD0411012190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2046 GMT 3 Nov 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Summary] Today, the first edition of the newspaper ROSSIYA [Russia] has been published by the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The first edition publishes a Greenpeace document listing those Soviet ships that have foundered over the years. It carries a photograph of a car crash captioned "Bulletproof Vest for Yeltsin."

Slow Law Receipt From TASS Delays Paper

PM0711095890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Editorial apology under the "Rejoinder" rubric: "Why the Newspaper Was Late"]

[Text] The majority of our readers will receive today's issue of our newspaper late. Some will not receive it all on their day off. Why is this? At 1200 hours yesterday, TASS began transmitting the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law on Freedom of Religion for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. It is an extensive item—two-thirds of a page. Nevertheless the typesetting shop, the compositors, the proofreaders, and other workers on the production shift managed to cope with this work and sign the paper to press on time. But then it transpired that Article 27 of the Law had "gone missing": Either it was not there at all or someone had mislaid it. The news agency's attempts to clarify the situation with the help of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium workers achieved nothing. The comrades were stuck.... At 1717 hours, that is the moment that the newspaper was to be dispatched, the editorial office received the report that the Law could not be printed. We now pass on that report to the readers with our apologies and regrets. Readers can pass their own judgment on this incident.

Western Republics

Crisis Situation in Gagauz Republic Continues

Situation 'Remains Tense'

LD0711163690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] It has been reported from Moldova [Moldavia] that the situation remains tense there. The conflict situation arose after the Gagauz people who live in the south of the republic and the Russian-speaking population of the Pridnestrovye area declared themselves independent republics. The Moldova Supreme Soviet declared these actions anti-constitutional. Clashes have taken place in a number of towns between their inhabitants and the militia.

Deputies Meet Moldavian Residents

LD0711202590 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Report by TASS special correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Kishinev November 7 TASS—"Our task is to protect the interests of ethnic Russians and other of our compatriots living in Moldavia," member of the Russian parliament Presidium Sergey Krasavchenko, heading a visiting Russian parliamentary delegation, told a meeting with Kishinev residents here today.

The delegation is in Kishinev in connection with an appeal from representatives of the Russian-speaking population of Moldavia and on the instruction of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The situation in Moldavia has aggravated recently as a result of interethnic conflicts between Moldavians, Russian-speaking population and Gagauz Turkic Christians.

"The information we received is contradictory," Krasavchenko said, noting that "there are no grounds to believe that this is a deadlock. The situation can be settled by a normal parliamentary way."

Russian People's Deputy Sergey Kovalev told the meeting that the activities of the delegation do not mean interference in Moldavia's domestic affairs. "We aim to understand what is happening, to advise if our advice is needed, to help if we are asked for help and to monitor the situation with our compatriots and other ethnic minorities here," he said.

Moldavian Soviet Seeks Solution

91UN0231B Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by TRUD correspondent P. Rashkov: "The Parliament Is Seeking a Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] **The fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldova [Moldavia] has opened in Kishinev. The draft agenda so far contains 54 items dealing practically with every facet of political and socioeconomic life in the sovereign republic.**

The most important task undoubtedly is that of stabilizing the situation. The day before the session opened, in accordance with the existing agreement, an intensive withdrawal of Moldovan volunteers began in the areas bordering on the emergency zone. At the same time, the volunteers from the left bank who had come to the predominantly Gagauz areas some time ago also began to leave. However, this belated step did not remove the tension completely.

In Komrat they still elected the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz republic, which has not been recognized by the Moldovan legislature. This caused certain indignation among the Moldovan population. The USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops, under the command of Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, are being accused of virtually encouraging the leaders of the Gagauz separatists.

Meanwhile, the Moldovan volunteers organize mass rallies and demonstrations in many regions of the republic as they return home. At these rallies they speak of their multiple demands to the local authorities. The national radio carried information about the large rally that took place in Ungeny Rayon at which the situation in the republic was discussed as well as Moscow's stance in the matter. According to the national radio, the leaders of Oknitskiy Rayon were accused by the volunteers of not helping them in their assigned tasks. In compliance with their demands an unscheduled session of the rayon soviet took place. The session expressed its lack of confidence in the old leadership and elected new leaders.

The Central Committee of the Moldova Communist Party met for a plenum in the evening of 31 October in Kishinev. However, according to the evening news program on national television, the plenum suspended its work to allow P. Luchinskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee, to appear on the news program. He said that a large group of people had gathered in front of the Central Committee building. Their representatives came into the session hall and demanded that the plenum participants go immediately to Moscow to inform the country's president of the real state of affairs in the republic and ensure a peaceful solution of the conflict. The plenum agreed to this; a special group was formed from Central Committee members and rally representatives. This delegation flew to Moscow yesterday.

The leader of the Moldovan People's Front, Yu. Roshka, also appeared on national television. He read the statement of this movement, which is now the largest and the most influential in the republic. The Moldovan People's Front expressed its concern at the situation in the region and proposed to the Moldovan legislature its own "radical" way of resolving the problem: the secession of Moldova from the USSR, the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from its territory, an appeal to the United Nations Organization, etc.

Many deputies of the Moldovan legislature suggested that discussions on the current sociopolitical situation begin without spending any time even on approving the session agenda. But this did not happen. Procedural problems caused a lot of arguments and consumed practically the entire first meeting. Finally the deputies entrusted a specially selected group with completing the agenda and presenting it later for final approval. The items suggested for the first day's discussions were the sociopolitical situation in the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, the draft law on the state emblem, and the law on the national guard. It was suggested that discussion of the first item be conducted in a closed meeting.

MVD Troops' Role Viewed

91UN0231A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by A. Khantsevich: "Moldova, 31 October"]

[Text] The moment our helicopter touched down at a sports stadium in Komrat, it was surrounded by locals. Right away they showered us with questions that have become very familiar lately: Who needs this dangerous confrontation on the land of Moldova [Moldavia]?

The Gagauz met the Internal Troops with bread and salt hospitality. They see the troops as a realistic force capable of preventing bloodshed. Soldiers and officers themselves told us a lot about the goodwill displayed toward them by the local residents. But they talked about other things also; for instance, they described how people threw Molotov cocktails at their convoy as they were pulling out of Kishinev, and how some people tried to hack the wheels of combat vehicles with axes.

The attitudes of officials toward the newly arrived military help varies, to put it mildly. At a press conference the previous night, Prime Minister M. Druk and Moldova MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Minister I. Kostash claimed that the Internal Troops could not cope with their task, they were moving too slowly, etc.

Well on that very day we had a wonderful opportunity to see the MVD troops in action under these difficult conditions. We met them as they were going south. First we landed in Chadyr-Lunga. Things were comparatively quiet there. However, the road barriers and guards remained in position on all the roads and the Gagauz volunteers, as well as those from the Dnestr region, did not leave. Why not?

"We have information that the Moldovan volunteers disguise themselves as militiamen and try to penetrate the territory of Gagauzia," one of the volunteer unit leaders from Rybnitsa told us.

Meanwhile the first session of the newly elected legislature of the Gagauz republic took place on 30 October. The session only elected S. Topal as the Supreme Soviet chairman and declared a 10 day moratorium on all previously made decisions. Moreover, the negotiating sides finally agreed to begin an immediate withdrawal of the volunteers and to complete it this afternoon. Unfortunately, it is much harder to withdraw the units than to stir up thousands of people and set them against each other. The military do not have it any easier as they have to cover up the politicians' mistakes one more time. Major General A. Zaytsev, commander of the operations group, was noticeably hoarse by the time his inspection trip of the state of emergency zone came to an end. During every landing at each of the positions he had to

explain one and the same thing: Leave, my dear friends. We are here and we will not allow any conflicts. Trust us.

People believe him. But they also believe that a collision is possible at any minute. We came to the same conclusion as we arrived to the southernmost point of the zone—the village of Vulkaneshty. Had the 5,000-strong unit of Moldovan volunteers marched on and had the helicopters carrying the military and members of Moldova Supreme Soviet Provisional Committee on board come a little later, who knows what the outcome of that could have been. We faced an impressive picture at the southern outskirts of Vulkaneshty: A huge trailer and a bulldozer in front, followed by a two-kilometer-long convoy of 26 "Icarus" buses and 16 trucks packed with volunteers in a very aggressive mood. It was only the line of submachine gunners and a couple of armored personnel carriers that prevented them from taking the last fatal step.

There were more negotiations, but they were unbelievably difficult that day. The excited, mixed crowd did not particularly want to listen to either the general or the chairman of the Provisional Committee, First Deputy Prime Minister of Moldova A. Sangeli. A. Khynku, in charge of the volunteers, said openly that he would not obey anyone but the minister of the republic MVD, I. Kostash, or the prime minister himself.

Armored personnel carriers brought more Internal Troops—the last and weightiest of the arguments. The commander of the volunteers, together with the military and Provisional Committee members, went to the village to ask for the opinion of his superiors.

This uneasy operation lasted two tense hours. Then it was the commander's turn to muster all his eloquence to persuade his own people. Still, they left.

Have they left for long?

MEANWHILE:

According to TASS, the volunteer units that were removed from the Gagauz republic blockaded the border posts at Stoyanovka and Goteshty.

According to information from the Nizhne-Dnestrovskiy border unit, over 3,000 members of home guard units formed by the government of Moldova took part in the operation. They demanded a withdrawal of the USSR MVD troops from the Gagauz republic, to be followed by their replacement with the republic's militia forces. The besiegers threatened to eliminate the border guards if their demands were not met. The border guards had to evacuate the children and women immediately.

Russian Lawmakers Discuss Human Rights in Tiraspol

LD0611154290 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Report by MOLDOVA-PRESS—TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Tiraspol November 6 TASS—A meeting between Russian lawmakers and councillors from Tiraspol began here today to discuss observance of human rights in the republic.

The meeting is also attended by Moldavian First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Oborok and chairman of the Moldavian parliamentary commission on ethnic relations Aleksandr Arseni.

Members of the Russian Parliament, who came to Moldavia at the invitation of the Russian-speaking population in the Dnestr left-bank area, will also visit industrial enterprises and organisations.

Leader of the delegation Sergey Krasavchenko stressed that the aim of the mission is "to become convinced that demands put forth by citizens living in the Dnestr left-bank area are just".

According to Krasavchenko, "under Article Eight of the treaty of cooperation signed by the Russian Federation and Moldavia, the sides should monitor the observance of rights and interests of national minorities in the Republics".

"Our findings will help form a clear-cut position to the Russian Parliament concerning events in Moldavia," he noted.

The delegation also includes Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the parliamentary committee on human rights, Boris Zolotukhin, subcommittee chairman of the committee on legislation, and Boris Kondrashov, deputy chairman of the committee on legality, law and order and crime control.

The first session was also attended by the leaders of the interim supreme council of the Dnestr Republic, which was ruled unconstitutional by the Moldavian Parliament.

7 Nov Celebrations Held in Ukraine, Belorussia

LD0711201990 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—For the first time in the history of military parades and demonstrations in the Ukrainian capital to mark the October Revolution, they were held in different places in accordance with the decision of the Kiev City Council.

A military parade was held in Victory Square. Demonstrators walked along the city's main Kreshchatik Street. Leaders of the republic, representatives from industrial enterprises, intellectuals and war and labour veterans walked together in demonstration columns. They called for consolidation of all sound forces, discipline and order.

Before the demonstration, a meeting was held near the Lenin monument in the beginning of Kreshchatik. Speakers proclaimed their adherence to the Great

October Socialist Revolution, having an incessant significance for Soviet people and peoples of the world. They called for consolidation to implement the tasks of perestroyka against separatism and nationalism.

In Bodgan Khmelnitsky Square, an alternative meeting was organised by the popular Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] movement and other movements and parties. It was devoted to November 7 as the day of mourning for the Ukrainian people. Speakers opposed a Union treaty. They called for a trial of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the KGB and the Interior Ministry.

A military parade and meetings were held in Minsk, the Belorussian capital. Addressing a meeting, president of the republican parliament Nikolay Dementey noted that the past decades are assessed differently and opinions of the republic's future also differ. But recalling the past of the Soviet state, it is important to see ways for overcoming economic, political and social problems, he said.

Later in the day, Lenin Square was the site of another meeting, held as an alternative to the first one. It was organised by the Belorussian Popular Front. Speakers negatively assessed the marked anniversary. They called for the republic's secession from the Soviet Union, disbandment of the Communist Party, holding pre-term elections to the republican parliament on a multi-party basis and withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the republic.

Alternative meetings and demonstrations were also held in some regional centres of Belorussia.

Kiev Demonstrators 'Severely' Beaten

LD0811122490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 8 Nov 90

[INTERFAX report from the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] On 7 November a military parade in Victory Square, and at the CPSU's call a rally and demonstration [manifestatsiya] in Kreshchatik, the central street, were held in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine. Democratic forces gathered in Bogdan Khmelnitskiy Square. Representatives of the Ukrainian Union of Students, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, and the Inter-Party Assembly attempted to thwart the military parade, but were rounded up by law-enforcement bodies. According to a statement issued by the students, the militia beat them severely. A small group of protesters were neutralized in Kreshchatik; they were surrounded by several ranks of militiamen.

Anatoliy Korniyenko, First Secretary of the Kiev Communist Party of Ukraine City Committee, spoke at the official rally. He stressed that socialism, the most just social system, simply cannot die. Perestroyka, he noted, continues the ideas of the October revolution. Korniyenko called on people to rebuff anticommunists and separatists. He was supported by a labor veteran, a milkmaid, and a representative of the Union of Ukrainian Working people for Socialist Perestroyka. The democratic forces which gathered in Bogdan Khmelnitskiy Square declared the 7 November a day of sorrow.

Uncertain Mood in Lvov

LD0711181290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1410 GMT on 7 November carries a four-minute report on the "Mayak Panorama" program by Lvov correspondent Vladimir Lyashko.

Lyashko describes how the Great October Socialist Revolution was celebrated in Lvov. He recalls that the oblast soviet decided that 7 and 8 November would be working days, which is why there was no demonstration here today. It is true that nevertheless the parade of Carpathian Military District troops took place.

As a result of negotiations between the districts' command and the local authorities, Lyashko says, a compromise solution was adopted: to stage the parade, not in the center of the city as was the case before, but in front of the USSR Armed Forces Combat Glory Monument on Striyskaya Street. But every cloud has a silver lining. This site turned out to be far more suitable for staging parades. He notes there were many spectators at the parade even though there were quite a few among them who have their own view on the role of the October Revolution in our history.

Apparently this explains the fact that on the eve premises had to be urgently sought for holding a festive meeting of the city's people. Usually such events were staged at the Ivan Franko Opera and ballet theater, and this time too invitations were sent out stating that the meeting would take place in that theater. But at the last minute the Lvov Oblast Soviet sent instructions to the theater's management as follows:

"Taking into account the current political situation in Lvov and the confrontation with the Ukrainian people started by the CPSU, the Lvov Oblast Soviet and the oblast Executive Committee Cultural Directorate regard the staging of a festive meeting devoted to the 73d anniversary of the October Revolution as pointless."

The meeting took place nevertheless, but in the Soviet Army theater.

Lyashko notes that the mood was far from a festive one. Yesterday oblast and republican central newspapers, with two exceptions, were not printed. Today city transport is operating with numerous interruptions. People do not understand whether it is a festive or working day. Today the workers of the Kineskop association declared a strike, demanding that their wages be backed up 100 percent with chits. From 1 November the chit system of trade has been introduced in the Ukraine and now, instead of rubles, chits are issued for 7 percent of one's wages. Everything except milk and bread can only be

purchased for chits. In doing this the republic's government has cut everyone's income by 30 percent. Therefore today a ruble without a chit is simply a piece of paper and nothing more.

"That is the kind of holiday we are having," Lyashko concludes.

Minsk Rally, 'Conflict' Reported

LD0711201490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Flowers were laid before the monument to Lenin by leaders of the republic, Minsk Oblast, Minsk, veterans, and representatives of public organizations. A rally was then held. Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and other speakers spoke with alarm and concern about the critical situation that had arisen in society. The most important thing now, they noted, is to emerge from the economic impasse. For that, it is necessary to move from political chatter to practical deeds to stabilize the situation.

The participants in an alternative rally entered the square. It was staged by the Belorussian Popular Front. Unfortunately, it did not pass without conflict with the militia. This occurred when those taking part in the rally tried to place placards and objects symbolizing the Gulag beside the monument to Lenin.

Ukraine Intends To Participate in CSCE

LD0711225690 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] United Nations November 8 TASS—The Ukraine intends to become a competent member of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, reads a note and a message by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

Ukrainian permanent representative at the United Nations Gennadiy Udovenko on Wednesday conveyed the message to the French permanent representative at the U.N.

The message reads that the decision of the Ukraine ensues the declaration of state sovereignty of the Ukraine adopted on July 16, 1990. The declaration says that the Ukraine directly participates in the all-European process and European structures.

Agreement from all member-states of the all-European conference is needed for the Ukraine's participation in the process and it will take some time. Taking this into account, the Ukrainian republic asks to be granted the observer status at the European summit, scheduled in Paris between November 19-21, and other meetings held within the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

All participants in the all-European conference have been informed of the Ukraine's intention.

"We have received an instruction to make such a move from the republican parliament and government," Udovenko said after his meeting with the French representative.

"The French ambassador asked about the Soviet Union's attitude to such a move. I noted that we are acting on the instruction of the Ukraine's supreme power, and nobody should be surprised. The Ukraine participated in the 1946 Paris peace conference and signed agreements there.

"We are not separatists. The Ukraine is a sovereign Soviet socialist republic within the framework of the Soviet Union. We have discussed the issue with the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which is not empowered to instruct us whether to make such a move or not. We are guided by the decision of the republican parliament," he said.

Ukraine Foreign Minister Visits State Department

LD0411015490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 3 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] UN, 3 Nov (TASS)—Anatoliy Zlenko, minister of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and head of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR at the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, visited the U.S. State Department on Friday [2 November] and had a long conversation with Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state. There was a frank exchange of opinions on the prospects for expanding multifaceted and bilateral links between the Ukraine and the United States where a large number of Ukrainians live.

Anatoliy Zlenko acquainted his interlocutor with the complex processes which are taking place in the Ukrainian SSR today and with how the government of the Republic is implementing the declaration of state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

The attention of the U.S. side was drawn to the concrete steps being taken to execute the clauses of the declaration concerning international relations. That has been reflected in the signing by the Ukrainian SSR of far-reaching documents with a number of neighboring states and in the talks with representatives of CSCE member-countries regarding the participation of the Ukraine in the pan-European process.

Lawrence Eagleburger showed considerable interest in the events in the Ukraine. He appreciated the desire of the Ukrainian people to enhance their international

prestige and conveyed to it his wishes for success in implementing the socioeconomic transformations.

The deputy secretary of state stressed that the opening of a general consulate of the United States in Kiev will be an appreciable event in the new conditions which are promoting the development of links between the Ukraine and the United States. This question was discussed comprehensively, taking account of the interests of the Republic.

During the meeting, the problem of the development of international cooperation in overcoming the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station and the participation of the United Nations in this process was examined.

Concluding the conversation, Anatoliy Zlenko and Lawrence Eagleburger stressed the mutual desire to get started between the Ukraine and the United States regular exchanges of all-round, truthful information.

Candidates for Ukrainian Premiership Examined

PM0211132190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "In the Clutches of Time-Trouble"]

[Text] Kiev, 31 Oct—Back at the beginning of last week, when the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session accepted the resignation of V. Masol, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, it was stated that the days until the following Monday would be devoted to a discussion of the candidates for this post. By the appointed time several names had been cited. At the last moment V. Fokin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for the Economy, regarded as the likeliest candidate, withdrew his candidacy, and the other candidates did not collect the necessary number of votes as a result of the ballot.

On Tuesday the first half of the day again went on searching for a suitable candidacy. Its discussion at the plenary sitting after lunch began with another demarche by the People's Council which accused the legislative majority of failing to vote... as it would have liked. The opposition's statement ended by saying that in this connection it would not nominate its candidate and disclaims responsibility for the situation which has taken shape in the republic. The deputies' majority was obliged to issue a statement calling for ambitions to be moderated and for constructive work.

Only after this did those present begin to discuss the proposed candidate for the post of premier—A. Bulyanda, general director of the Mariupol "Azovstal" metallurgical combine.

But meanwhile the lack of a head of government is already having a very acute effect. In particular it emerged that the deputies have no single opinion about the resolution adopted by the republic's Council of Ministers "on the defense of the consumer market in the Ukrainian SSR." Demands are even being heard that it be repealed as failing to accord with the working people's interests. Meanwhile the resolution should enter into force 1 November.

The situation is truly awkward, and as is well known it is difficult to get out of time-trouble, especially as not all deputies are distinguished by a desire to overcome it.

Kiev KGB Seeks Security Committee Law Adoption

LD0311122390 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Nov 90

[INTERFAX report from the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Socialist Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] Staffers of the KGB directorate for Kiev and Kiev Oblast have called for the urgent adoption of a law on the State Security Committee.

At a general meeting, the collective adopted a special appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It notes that, in conditions of political and economic instability, foreign services are stepping up efforts to carry out hostile acts; foreign centers are urging nationalistic and extremist inclined citizens of the USSR to commit illegal actions. Smuggling is on the increase.

The Kiev state security staffers consider that the adoption of this law would strengthen the legal basis of the actions of the KGB bodies.

Ukrainian Communist Writers Appeal for Unity

PM0711170990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent M. Odinets: "Appeal of Ukrainian Communist Writers"]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Nov—Among the preholiday celebration meetings to mark the Great October, one stands out—that held by the Kiev writers. It took place in a complex atmosphere of ill-will on the part of their colleagues who have a hostile and even inimical attitude toward the champions of the socialist choice made by our people in October 1917. The speakers at the meeting included the well-known writers Aleksandr Levada, Mikola Upenik, Grigoriy Kolesnik, and others. An appeal was adopted which states in particular: "The October anniversary is being celebrated in today's complex conditions. Despite all the ordeals which have been our country's lot, we attest to our confidence in the inexhaustible power of the socialist idea and the irreversibility of the people's choice. We support the appeal of the meeting of the Kuybyshev City party aktiv for the unity and activeness of Communists and all socialist forces in practical action; in the struggle against socioeconomic, political, and moral instability; and for the recovery and further development of Soviet society...."

Crimean Tatars Close Down Tent City in Kiev

LD0711212990 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The main campus of the Crimean Tatars, which has been standing on the central square of St (Ropol) for four months, has ended its existence. As a result of talks, the leaders of the Crimean Tatar national movement, with members of the special commission of the regional executive committee, mutually acceptable decisions were found for both sides.

It is planned that by 20th November the question on resettlement of Tatars who have temporarily ceased to (?lands) in the Crimea will be examined by the authorities. At present, there are over 105,000 Crimean Tatars living in the Crimea.

Lutsk City Soviet Halts Military Call-Up

LD0211182390 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Presidium of Lutsk City Soviet of People's Deputies has adopted a resolution on the city call-up commission. Taking into consideration that the USSR Ministry of Defense has not ensured fulfilment of demands in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet resolution on active military service by citizens of Ukraine, the city call-up commission's actions should be stopped and it should only be allowed to carry out medical examinations of conscripts until the information is received at the Lutsk city military office about the place of service by the specific groups of conscripts.

Ukrainian Storehouses 'Overflowing' With Sugar

LD0311100890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Signal of distress. Over 1 million tonnes of sugar have piled up in storehouses in the Ukraine. The reason for this is the shortage of railcars to dispatch it. The Southern Railway—chief: Comrade Puchko—is working especially poorly.

This sugar in the Ukraine represents a burden and is lying around unused and may perish inasmuch as some sugar refineries, after having filled their warehouses to overflowing, are forced to store a portion of their output in the open.

Who will establish order?

Donetsk Miners Strike Committee Register Newspaper

LD0311213890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0948 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yurkevich]

[Summary] Donetsk, 3 Nov (TASS)—A new newspaper, NEWS AND EVENTS [NOVOSTI I SOBYTIYA], published by the strike committee of the Donetsk miners, has been registered. The committee previously published a special bulletin during the second congress of miners of the USSR held in Donetsk. Like that bulletin, the newspaper is devoted to problems that concern miners, such as compliance with the decisions of their all-Union congresses, news from the labor movement, and the coal industry's transition to market conditions. Acting editor-in-chief Yuriy Boldyrev says the newspaper will provide the public with information from the miners.

The newspaper is one of many registered in Donetsk under the Law on the Press adopted this year. Forty new publications were registered in October including LIFE [ZHIZN], the newspaper of the oblast soviet of people's deputies; CHRISTIAN OF THE DONBASS [KHRISTYANIN DONBASSA], of the Society of Evangelical Christian Baptists; and FIRST LINE [PERVAYA LINIYA], inaugurated by the Donetsk town committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Ukrainian Government Publishes New Newspaper

LD0311145290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0508 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, (URYADOVIY KURYER)—GOVERNMENT COURIER—has been published in the Ukraine. By all accounts, the newspaper promises to be of interest to a broad range of readers, and according to the editorial board, will always reply to the traditional question: What is the government doing about it?

Belorussian-Ukrainian Joint Communique Published

91UN0194B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Oct 90 p 1

[Statement signed by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, in Kiev on 17 October 1990: "Joint Statement of the Chairmen of the Ukrainian SSR and Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviets"]

[Text] Taking as a basis the age-old traditions of Ukrainian-Belorussian fraternity and mutual assistance and the political and socioeconomic situation in the two republics, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Belorussian SSR are profoundly convinced as to the need for a further strengthening of mutually profitable political, economic, S&T, and cultural cooperation between them as sovereign states.

The parties have agreed that, guided by the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine and the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Belorussia, they will pursue socioeconomic policy and social and economic transformations based thereon for the purpose of ensuring the well-being of the peoples of the two republics and their spiritual and cultural development.

The parties believe that for a solution of the socioeconomic problems confronting them, priority significance is attached to the effective use of the industrial and S&T potential available to both republics and the transition to market principles of management.

The parties emphasize that a most important aspect of their cooperation is the joint surmounting of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident—the biggest ecological catastrophe in man's history. Both fraternal peoples felt and continue to experience tremendous moral shock and have sustained major material losses. The health and life itself of millions of people, children primarily, have been jeopardized. All this requires coordinated joint efforts aimed at finding large-scale resources and the implementation of programs for the elimination of the consequences of the disaster of the century, the attraction of international assistance included. The purpose of all these actions are the protection of the health of and the creation of worthy living conditions for our peoples.

The parties welcome the conclusion of the intergovernmental agreement on economic, S&T, and cultural cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR. It determines the main parameters of interaction of the two republics in the sphere of general economic problems, science and technology, health care, education and culture, the ecology and financial and credit relations. Specific measures for the coordination of the structural reorganization of the economy and foreign economic cooperation of the two republics have been agreed. A mutually profitable exchange of industrial-engineering products and consumer goods under the conditions of the transition to market relations has been mapped out.

A permanent cooperation coordinating council endowed with the necessary authority will be formed to implement the agreement. Agreement has been reached on the organization of regular top-level meetings.

The parties express confidence that the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples, united by common goals, fraternal unity, and responsibility to future generations, will make every effort for realization of the plans provided for in the agreement and a strengthening of mutual cooperation between the republics.

The statement was drawn up in Ukrainian and Belorussian. Both copies are authentic.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet
N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet
17 October 1990, Kiev.

Draft of New Belorussian Constitution Completed

LD0311003190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1752 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 2 Nov (TASS)—The draft of a new constitution has been developed in Belorussia, the fifth in the 78 years of Soviet power in the republic. The fourth—"Brezhnev's"—was adopted in 1978 and to a great extent was a manifesto of the "stagnation" period.

What will the new constitution of Belorussia, proclaimed a sovereign state on 27 July of this year, be like? In answer to this question from the TASS correspondent, Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Constitutional Commission and head of the republican legislature, stressed that the new constitution stems from the basic tenets of the declaration of sovereignty of Belorussia, the Universal Declaration of Human rights, and other generally recognized international acts. The document embodies the principles of the priority of the individual over the interests of the state.

The draft constitution also enshrines such conceptual approaches as recognition of the republic as a sovereign state and an independent entity in international law, and the supremacy of the republic's laws on its own territory. Legal guarantees of equality of rights, a multiplicity of forms of ownership, and freedom of enterprise are being created.

The draft of the new constitution will be discussed at the next session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet and then made public.

Belorussia Passes Law on Foreign Economic Activity

PM0611163390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Mikhail Shimanskiy under "Direct Line" rubric: "Republic on Foreign Market"]

[Text] Henceforth Belorussia trades on the foreign market without intermediaries. This is stipulated by the Law on the Fundamentals of Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Foreign Economic Activity, which the republic's legislature has just adopted.

The following come within the republic's competence: the formulation and implementation of foreign economic policy, the establishment of the procedure for the creation and registration of joint enterprises and international associations and union. The law naturally protects the economic interests of the Belorussian republic, enterprises, organizations, and citizens outside its borders. Further, it fixes taxes and the collection of mandatory payments into the republic and local soviet budgets. It determines free-enterprise zones, ensures legal protection for foreign investors on the republic's territory, and so on. Incidentally, the law opens up extensive opportunities for foreign capital investments in Belorussia in various forms via joint enterprises and free economic zones.

What is the nature of the relations between the Belorussian SSR and the USSR under the republic law? They will be effected via a unified customs territory and customs legislation, a single currency-monetary system, and by coordinating the planning of republic and Union foreign economic activity.

United Democratic Party Created in Belorussia

LD0311201190 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk November 3 TASS—A constituent congress of the United Democratic Party of Belorussia opened here today. Its convocation is the result of the understanding of the urgent need for all democratic forces to unite. The congress is being attended by 115 delegates. The Democratic Platform, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Radical Democratic Party and three regional democratic parties from Minsk, Brest and Grodno voiced the intention to unite.

According to the mandate commission of the congress, the delegates represent some 4,000 members of those parties.

Oleg Manayev, master of sciences (philosophy), who put forward the draft programme and rules of the new party at the request of the organising committee of the congress, stressed that it would be "not an anti-communist, but a non-communist party". Its main goal is the creation of democratic society in Belorussia with a priority of all-human values over class ones. The draft programme and rules say that the new party will be organised according to the horizontal and not vertical principle. Factions are allowed in it. The party will be headed by co-chairmen.

Guests of the congress included people's deputies to the Soviet, Belorussian and Russian parliaments.

The constituent congress will end its work on November 4.

Party Congress Ends

LD0411170890 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk November 4 TASS—A constituent congress of the United Democratic Party of Belorussia ended here today. It adopted the programme (the first version) and the rules of the new party, as well as a number of resolutions.

It was announced that the main goal of the party is the creation of democratic society in Belorussia with a priority of all-human values over class ones and with pluralism in all spheres of public life. The party will work for the implementation of these ideas only through law-making.

Out of six parties which intended to unite, only five reached agreement. The sixth one—the regional Democratic Party with headquarters in the city of Grodno—decided to confine itself to consultations with the new party.

Six co-chairman were elected at the congress.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 4 November adds in a similar report: "The congress was prompted by the realization of the need for an alliance of all democratic forces. The draft program and rules of the new party highlight the fact that it will not be an anticommunist party but, rather, a noncommunist party."]

Belorussian People's Front Meeting Reported

91P50036 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by TASS Warsaw: "The Plans of the Belorussian Nationalists"]

[Text] According to a report in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a meeting between the leaders of the Belorussian People's Front and Belorussian emigres from the United States, England, Poland, and other countries took place at the end of October in the Polish town of Bialowieza in the Bialystok voivodship.

They discussed plans to create an independent state on Belorussian territory. One of the leaders of the Belorussian nationalists in Poland by the name of Yanovich stated in the paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY: "Not one of the Soviet republics is in a position to achieve independence on its own. A plan to create a Baltic-Black Sea union with the participation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine is imminent. The collapse of the USSR and the democratization of Russia must be the precondition for the success of the stated goal. However, the West is impeding the achievement of this goal because it fears a severe disruption in the balance of forces in the world which might lead to unforeseen consequences."

Caucasus

GOSR Anniversary Marked in Azerbaijan

NC0811110090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1745 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] A meeting was held at the Azerbaijan State Opera and Ballet Theater House on the occasion of the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 6 November. Afrand Dashdamirov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the convocation which was attended by President Ayaz Mutalibov and leading party and government officials in the republic.

The meetings held to mark the occasion in Moscow and Baku were broadcast by the radio and television networks.

Turkish Paper Interviews Azerbaijan's Gasanov

NC0711211890 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Nov 90 p 14

[Exclusive interview with Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by MILLIYET correspondent Cenk Baslamis in Baku; date not given]

[Excerpts] Baku—[Baslamis] You have returned from a recent visit to Turkey. Are you happy with the outcome of your visit?

[Gasanov] While flying to Turkey, I was confident that we would strengthen our relations and sign a number of agreements. My confidence stemmed from the deep fraternal relations between the Turkish and Azerbaijani people. The fraternal and friendly hospitality I was accorded in Turkey exceeded my expectations. [passage omitted]

We have ratified the agreements we signed with Turkey and distributed them to all corners of Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani people support the development of our relations. A Turkish consulate will be opened in Azerbaijan in the near future. A company delegation has arrived from Turkey for the establishment of a direct telephone line. It has already started work in that regard. We shall be able to have direct communications as of the beginning of 1991. Meanwhile, talks are being held on flights between the two countries. Let me point out, however, that the necessary ground was prepared for the conclusion of these agreements beforehand.

[Baslamis] To what extent can the cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan be developed, and what dimension can it assume?

[Gasanov] Azerbaijan offers many opportunities. Let me give you an example. We invited the representatives of 500 companies from 43 countries to visit Baku recently. Regardless of the Armenian antipropaganda campaign, 750 businessmen visited our republic; 750 businessmen had not visited Baku over the past 70 years. We showed what we have to them, and they were amazed. Of course, the largest delegation was from Turkey. [passage omitted]

We signed the largest number of agreements with Turkey. We have our own model in the foreign relations domain. Nevertheless, we are meeting a number of problems. We have rich resources, but our foreign currency supply is insufficient. We are not saying that we should only sell to acquire foreign currency. We need joint investments. Let us produce the commodities which will allow us to enter the world market and pay what we must in return for the investments in foreign currency. The companies which favor this model are few. We hope that MILLIYET will acquaint its readers with our model. We need a pharmaceutical drug factory. I wish that the Turkish companies would undertake its construction. Furthermore, the Turkish firms are selling a variety of commodities to the Soviet Union, from soap to wine and cigarettes. Why should we not produce these commodities jointly in Azerbaijan? It makes no difference for the Soviet Union. It makes no difference if the cigarettes are produced in either Istanbul or Baku. Turkey can have a shortcut into the Soviet market this way. We have a good place in this market. We are among the most influential republics. Why are the Turkish companies not benefiting from this? A number of them are hesitating, but there is no need to hesitate. We need investments for five or six years. This is not much. We shall then be able to stand on our own feet. Turkey can make investments in every field, including heavy industry, light industry, and the consumer goods industry. The first to come will be the first to be served.

Meanwhile, I wish to address the Turkish tourist companies. [passage omitted] As a first step, we can allow the tourist companies to modernize our existing hotels. They can make new investments with the foreign currency they will receive. [passage omitted] I believe that investments in the field of tourism will prove to be most profitable within a short period of time. Our cooperation may extend to all these areas.

[Baslamis] A new Union agreement is being drawn up to arrange relations between the Soviet republics and the central authority. How do you regard this agreement?

[Gasanov] First, let me say that we shall not sign this agreement with closed eyes, as has been the case in the past. We transferred 99 percent of our power to Moscow in the past. This will not be the case anymore. Henceforth, we must be the determining factor in our foreign relations.

[Baslamis] Do you mean to say that you wish to maintain the right to open embassies, say in Ankara, for example?

[Gasanov] Yes, we must have this right in principle. An embassy or a mission may be opened in Ankara, for example, if the Soviet Embassy there fails to reflect our views fully or does so in a wrong way. Yes, we wish to retain this right. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijani Leaders Honors Soldiers

NC0811110490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1745 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] For three years now, Azerbaijan has been the target of totally unjustified armed aggression by the neighboring republic. Peaceful residents of border rayons are being subjected to bandit attacks by armed Armenian groups. Innocent people are being killed or taken hostage, residential areas are being occupied, and houses are being set on fire and destroyed. Thousands of people have become refugees in their own homeland.

Under these circumstances, the role of units of the Soviet Army, the USSR and the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committees for State Security, and the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Internal Affairs Ministries, which are protecting the work and tranquillity of Azerbaijan's residents, must be highly appraised. Acting with [word indistinct] and self-sacrifice, the troops and officers are helping to normalize the situation in the region, participating in the efforts to maintain public law and order, and doing all they can to prevent bloodshed and protect our republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, presented awards to a large group of military servicemen. These medals and honorary citations were presented to honor the services which have been rendered to the maintenance of public law and order. On behalf of the republic's Supreme Soviet and the republic's presidential council, Mutalibov sincerely congratulated the recipients of the awards.

Asadov, member of the republic's presidential council and minister of internal affairs; Nazarov, head of the Azerbaijan SSR president's staff; and Mirzayev and Gadzhiyev, section chiefs of the president's office, participated in the award ceremony.

7 Nov Not Marked in Yerevan, Tbilisi

LD0711204590 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—Celebrations of the 73rd anniversary of the October Revolution were not held in Yerevan, in accordance with the decision of the Armenian parliament. There was neither a parade, nor a demonstration here.

Still, November 7-8 remained the days off. Only the republican parliament, government and Communist Party buildings were decorated with republican state flags.

Of all the republican newspapers only the ARMENIAN REPUBLIC newspaper, published in Armenian and Russian, carried a message of greetings from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to head of the Armenian parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan on the occasion of the anniversary. The VOICE OF ARMENIA newspaper published a large article "Our Interlocutor Lenin."

November 7 was a usual working day in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. Neither a grand meeting, nor a demonstration was held. The local authorities failed to work out a plan to mark the anniversary of the October Revolution, which is being seriously reassessed.

In accordance with the decision of the Transcaucasian Military district leadership, a military parade usually was held in Tbilisi on the territory of a military unit. Earlier, similar parades were held in the centre of the city.

On the eve of the anniversary, the Georgian Independent Trade Unions Board considered it inexpedient to hold celebrations.

Georgian Transportation Minister Transferred

LD0711205490 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Oct 90 p 3

[SAKARTVELO NEWS AGENCY report]

[Text] The Presidium of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has released Comrade Boris Erastovich Saralidze from his post as Georgian SSR minister of motor transport and roads in connection with his transfer to other work.

South Osetia Proclaims Democratic Republic

LD0711115190 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by Tamaz Lomsadze and Aleksey Sinelnikov: "Troubled Times"]

[Text] The 15th session of the oblast soviet of South Osetia, which took place on 16 October, expressed its negative attitude to the decree of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium on the illegality of proclaiming the Soviet Democratic Republic of South Osetia [SDRSO].

Not one deputy representing the Georgian population of South Osetia took part in the session.

The session accepted the resignation of the previous leadership of the oblast executive committee and formed a "Provisional Committee". A draft constitution of the SDRSO was approved as was a temporary provision for elections to the "Supreme Soviet of the Democratic Republic". Torez Kulumbegov, one of the leaders of 'Adamon Nykhas' the Osetian national organization which wants South Osetia to be separated from Georgia, was made head of the "Provisional Committee". Shortly before this there was a demonstration in Tskhinvali at which people shouted "Down with Yeltsin". People say that this was because of B.N. Yeltsin's point blank

refusal to accept the idea of South Osetia being part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

Meanwhile, after a long struggle behind the scenes, the oblast press published a "Declaration of State Sovereignty by the Soviet Democratic Republic of South Osetia". It postulates complete independence in resolving all issues and demands that South Osetia should be a direct part of the USSR. It establishes citizenship of the "Democratic Republic" with retention of USSR citizenship. Clearly in response to the resolute actions of deputies from Leningorskiy Rayon, who announced that the rayon was leaving the autonomous oblast immediately after this declaration had been adopted, the following statement appeared in the text of the declaration: "The territory of the Democratic Republic of South Osetia is indivisible and inviolable and cannot be changed or used without the agreement of its people as embodied in their supreme organ of power."

In the section on economic independence there are two clauses which should be recognized as most intriguing: the supreme organ of power of the proposed republic "concludes agreements with foreign citizens on building enterprises..." Agreements between "parliament" and businessmen are undoubtedly an innovation in the field of state construction. The second curious idea is the creation of a customs service. "The security of the SDRSO," the declaration says, "is ensured, internally by the forces of the municipal militia and USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, and externally by the USSR Armed Forces..." Since South Osetia only borders on North Osetia and clearly no attack is expected from that quarter the purpose of the "defense forces" is clear.

The declaration proclaims a special relationship with North Osetia and the priority of cultural and economic integration between the SDRSO and the North Osetia Autonomous SSR.

The aim of proclaiming the declaration is to become an independent part of the USSR as well as to determine the rights of an independent subject of the union treaty and to become a signatory of it.

It goes without saying that this is an illegal document. The entire declaration is the fruit of the creative initiative of activists in "Adamon Nykhas" and its only consequence will be to increase tension in the region. The published statement is an adequate reflection of the mood of the Georgian population of South Osetia. Incidentally, the session of the oblast soviet did all it could to deprive itself of any opportunity to back down with dignity when practical matters end up proving the impracticability of the decisions which it has made. Provisions have been adopted for holding elections to the Supreme Soviet of the "Democratic Republic". A date has even been set in early December.

There is no doubt that in these conditions the newly elected Georgian parliament will be forced to act more decisively. The very act of proclaiming sovereignty will strengthen the position of people within Georgia who are calling for a reexamination of the status of South Osetia as an autonomous oblast and for a return to the situation which existed prior to the arrival in the republic of the Red Army. On the initiative of 'Adamon Nykhas" Tskhinvali town Soviet has already decided to boycott the Georgian Supreme Soviet elections. If one takes into consideration that the autonomous oblast is to send five deputies to the republic's soviet then the boycott will not have any real impact, apart from clearly weakening the position of the oblast. North Osetia's special support for the undertakings of "Adamon Nykhas" is also of a dubious nature. The main problem for this autonomous area lies in the territorial claims of Ingushetiya which are making themselves more clearly heard every day and conflict with Georgia over South Osetia clearly does not come into the plans of the Russian leadership. It is also doubtful whether "Adamon Nykhas" could manage to form even slightly viable state structures since the entire economy and infrastructure of the oblast depend on supplies from republican resources. The slightest interruptions to supplies leave the oblast on the brink of collapse and chaos which is what happened last year during the three day blockade.

South Osetiya Georgians Plan Civil Disobedience

LD0711204790 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

["Statement by the Regional Committee of the All-Georgian Ivane Machabeli Society"—ZARYA VOSTOKA headline]

[Text] Georgian population of Samachablo's attitude to the session of the oblast soviet and to the adoption of the declaration setting up a Soviet Democratic Republic of South Osetiya can only be described as one of outright rejection. This is confirmed by the fact that a rally of the Georgian population of South Osetiya held in the village of Eredvi after the 13th extraordinary session of the oblast soviet adopted an appeal to the Georgia Government and to the session which says: If the declaration is adopted we declare absolute no confidence in the local authorities which are being led along by the extremist organization "Adamon Nykhas" and we will resort to civil disobedience since the declaration encroaches on the rights of the indigenous population of the region and we cannot approve it.

The position of the Georgian population remains unchanged. We are for elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the creation of a multiparty parliament, and the preservation of the republic's territorial integrity, fraternity, and civic peace.

Furthermore, we hereby inform the people of the republic that three deputies of Georgian nationality were drafted to the commission which drew up the constitution of the so-called democratic republic. These deputies publicly refused to take part in the commission's work.

We do not direct this statement against the Osetiyan people. We understand that many have come under the influence of separatists whose objective is a break down in relations between the two peoples.

[Signed] The Regional Committee of the All-Georgian Ivane Machabeli Society.

Central Asia

GOSR Celebrations in Kirghizia Described

LD0711175290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows demonstration and the caption "Frunze." A placard calls for executive power to be transferred from the partocracy to the president] The Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan formed a separate column. During the recent session of the republican legislature, its representatives, demanding the resignation of the political leadership of Kirghizia, declared a hunger strike. Now, since the election of the president of the republic—and let me remind you that Aksar Akayev, president of the republican Academy of Sciences, was elected to this post—this social movement comes out in support of him, just like the majority of the population, which is counting on the stabilization of the situation via decisive democratic transformations and firm power on the basis of the law.

The only town in Kirghizia where there is no demonstration today is Uzgen, which suffered most in the interethnic pogroms. Builders have tried to brighten up the October anniversary for the people of Uzgen. Many received new homes.

In Osh a demonstration is being held, but all celebrations must end by seven o'clock in the evening, because the state of emergency is still in force.

Dushanbe 'Doubly Unusual' Celebration Reported

LD0711233290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[From the"Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The way in which the festive military parade and working people's demonstration [demonstratsiya] passed off in Dushanbe was doubly unusual. First, the festivities took place amid a continuing state of emergency, although everyday life in the city is proceeding peacefully. The second and perhaps most important point was the restraint and the absence of ostentation which is a common feature of such festivities. True, there were slogans and placards, but they did not carry reports on labor achievements, but appeals for such topical present-day problems as civic accord and the consolidation of healthy forces in society to be resolved. [video caption says "Dushanbe"; dancers and musicians in street; marchers with flowers and balloons.]